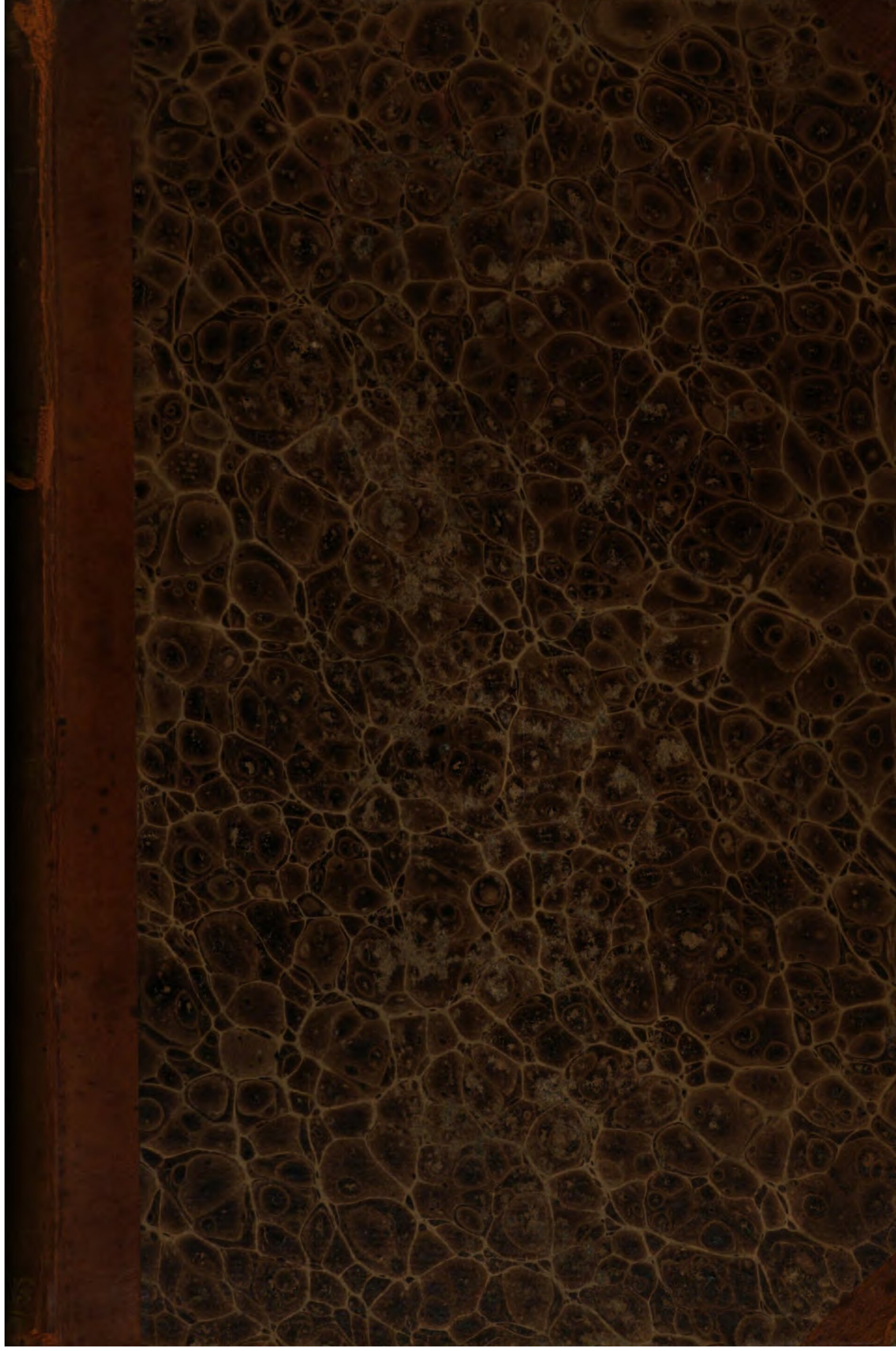
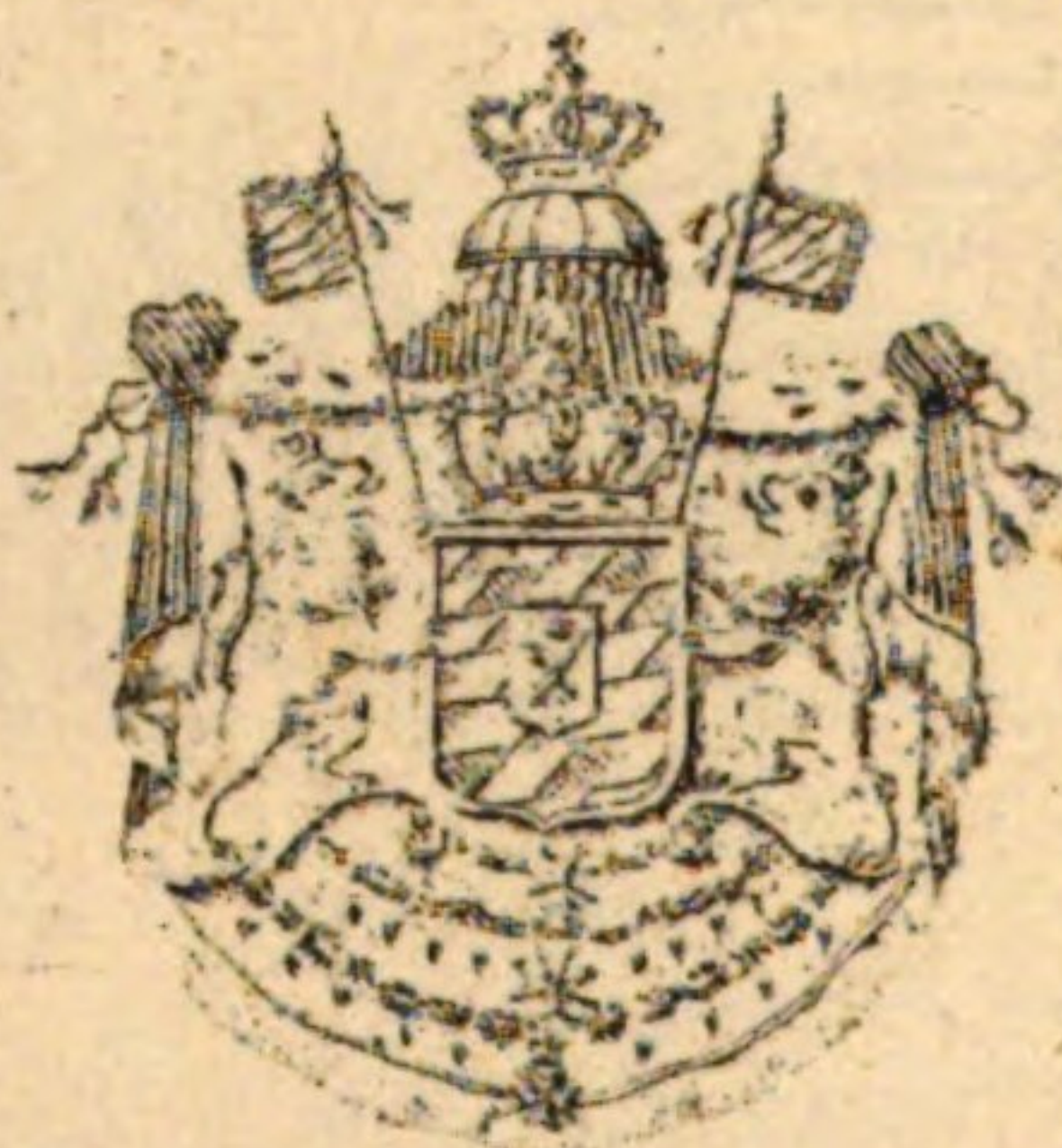




He. eich.
1219 m.

R. 13.



**BIBLIOTHECA
REGIA
MONACENSIS.**

THE
O R I G I N
OF
A R I A N I S M
D I S C L O S E D.

R

By JOHN WHITAKER, B. D.

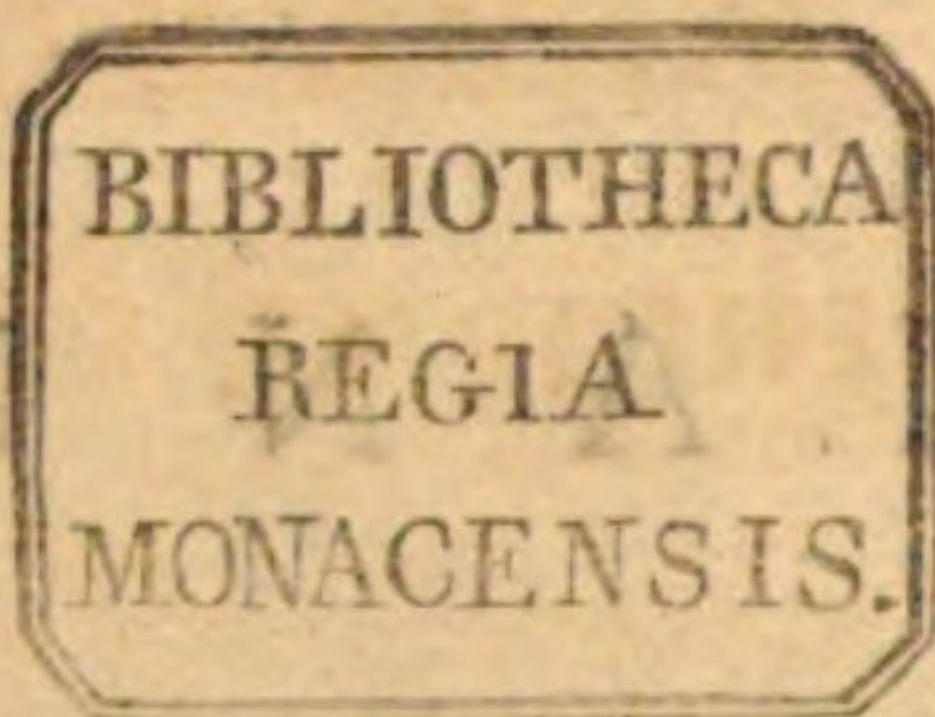
RECTOR OF RUAN LANYHORNE, CORNWALL.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY.

1791,

42.D.



TO THE RIGHT REVEREND

SAMUEL

LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

MY LORD,

I *publickly* request you to accept a copy of the present work, in order to show your Lordship and the world, my strong sense of the service which you have done to the cause of Christianity, by your late writings against a well-known Heretick. Your writings will continue to be serviceable to the cause, as long as the memory of that Heretick continues in the church. The bane and the antidote will go on, in an useful union together.

With abilities much less vigorous, and with learning much more contracted, I have here engaged in assertion of the same cause. But I have acted differently from your Lordship. I have entered di-

rectly into the heart of the controversy. This you declined to do, because the arguments on both sides had been repeatedly canvassed, you thought, and nothing new could be advanced upon the subject. I flatter myself, that I have advanced something new and just upon it; and have introduced a train of historical argumentation, which is at once novel in its direction, comprehensive in its scope, and decisive in its efficacy.

I shall think myself singularly fortunate, if it should appear to others as it does to me. I shall be particularly pleased, if it meets with your Lordship's approbation. And, in hopes it will, I subscribe myself with great respect for your talents, your spirit, and your application of both,

My Lord,

Your most obedient Son and Servant,

April 27, 1791.

R. L. Parsonage.

J. WHITAKER.

THE
ORIGIN OF ARIANISM
DISCLOSED.

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

— I. —

NATIONS assume different characters at different times. Some secular or spiritual causes interpose, to change the general tone of thinking. These are apparent as they arise, to the philosophical surveyor of man. And they soon become visible in their effects, to every eye.

In this kingdom, and at this period, we may mark a rising aversion to theological controversy. We see it stealing upon the minds of scholars, and giving a tincture to their sentiments. It is only *beginning* at present. It carries, therefore, a faint and dubious appearance with it. But it *is* beginning. And the operations of it, if not checked, will speedily show themselves in a frigid apathy of moderation, concerning all the fundamental articles of our religion.

This new and degenerate sort of stoicism may be attributed perhaps by some, to the surfeit which the nation has taken of such controversy; from the long

B

and

and sharp disputes, that have been maintained among us for more than a century past. The human mind is very apt, in its weakness, to be influenced by accidents, to catch the colour of the objects passing beside it, and to reflect them back in its practice. But this is evidently *not* the cause, of that aversion to theological controversy; which is beginning to shoot up in the nation, at present. The disputes about *civil* points during the same period of time, have been as sharp and as long, as concerning articles of theology. Liberty, in particular, has been even more earnestly contended for, by the three or four last generations of Britons; than any one doctrine in the creed of Christianity. Yet we can discern no aversion to such disputes, starting up in the mind of the nation, and preparing to betray the cause which has been so firmly supported. We see indeed the very reverse. The flame of liberty, which has burned so fiercely in the bosom of this kingdom, still keeps up its ardours there; while the warmth for the leading doctrines of religion, is gradually cooling in the heart. And this striking contrast in the two parts of the national character, serves strongly to show us the real reason for the latter. Religion is losing its weight, in the scale of the public opinions. A rectitude of sentiment in religion, therefore, is no longer considered of so much importance, as it was. Where the substance is sinking, in its efficacy upon the heart; the incidents

dents must necessarily fall off, in their consequence with the mind. And political objects still appear momentous in the eyes of our people, still agitate their understandings, and inflame their spirits; because temporal interests still retain their original hold, upon their affections.

While there is any life of religion, actuating the great body of this island; there must and will be controversies in theology. While the grand code of Christianity exercises the attention, and fastens upon the passions, of our people; there will be weakness of intellect to be set right, and perverseness of conduct to be corrected, by the clergy. These are to stand around the altars of the Gospel, to keep up the fire of religion there in all its power, and to maintain it in all its purity. Nor will they be found unfaithful to their charge, while there is any spring of theological activity, in the clerical mind; and while there are any energies of religious zeal, in the clerical heart. When they come to nod beside the altar; to slumber over the dying flame; or to look on with a stupid unconcern, while wretched men are heaping false and unhallowed fuel upon it; then irreligion has finished its course among us. A spiritual frost has spread its influence, through the body. It has benumbed the extremities. It is come to the heart. And, like a poor man stretched out upon the snows of the Alps, the nation will then be angry at those, who disturb its rest in order to save it; will

then beg to be allowed a little longer repose, upon its bed of ice; and feel a kind of pleasing serenity, gliding gradually through all its veins, stopping up one by one all the avenues of life, and hastening on to quench the last spark of vitality, by seemingly lulling it into a gentle sleep.

To this state, thank God, the clergy are not reduced at present. I trust, they never will be. They will always, I trust, be a national ministry active of intellect, and vigorous in religion. In spite of the siren song of moderation, I hope, we shall ever be alive to the spirit of our institution, and ever bending forward to "the prize of our high calling in Christ Jesus." And we shall thus continue to be, what our ancestors have always been, the most learned and the most zealous of Christian Divines, the honour of our kingdom, the glory of the reformation, and the admiration of all Christendom.

In this sound and solid view of theological controversies, the first object of all controversy is the doctrine of the TRINITY. This concerns the very foundation-stone of our religion. This affects "the very pillar and ground of the truth^a." If this doctrine be *false*, then nine tenths of the Christians through every age and in every country, have been guilty of *idolatry*; of an idolatry indeed, not so gross as that of the Heathens, because not the worship of *devils*

^a 1 Tim. iii. 15.

in the place of God^b; yet of an idolatry more gross than that of the Papists at present, because not merely the worship of *saints* and of *angels*, in *subordination* to God; but the worship of a *creature* along *with* the Creator, placing him *equally* with God upon the throne of the universe, giving God a *partner* in his empire, and so *deposing* God from *half* his sovereignty. And, if the doctrine be *true*, then the opposers of it, the Arians of antient and modern days, are bold and blasphemous abusers of the faith; are, like the giants of old, brandishing their arms directly against heaven; and are vainly endeavouring to tear down our blessed Redeemer, from the throne of the Godhead there.

That this doctrine *is* true, I am fully convinced. I read it recorded in the pages of Scripture. I see it attested by the writings of the fathers. And I find it displayed, in the generally uniform and unvarying faith of the church of Christ, from the days of the apostles to the present period. All these rays of light, in my opinion, unite to form such an orb of lustre in favour of the doctrine; as shines out with a sun-like blaze of evidence, upon the world.

To add to this evidence, may seem equally superfluous and rash. It may seem to be holding up a taper to the sun. Yet, when the sun retires, we light our tapers. We consider them as so many radiations, derived from the great body of light that

^b 2 Cor. x. 20. "I say that the things, which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to *devils*, and not to God." See also Deut. xxxii, 17.

is absent. While therefore that orb is withdrawn for a while, we may usefully, I trust, contemplate a derived ray. This is one, I think, which has never been sufficiently observed. I hope to recommend it to the public notice. And I wish to consider the doctrine of the Trinity, in a light equally new and striking; for the stronger confirmation of our mutual faith.

— II. —

A candid and thinking mind must be startled at first, on reflecting that the Jews oppose themselves to the doctrine of the Trinity. This is certainly very startling, when we consider the providential character, if I may so express myself, which God has stamped upon the Jews in all the earlier ages. They were then the grand instruments of God, for the operations of his providence upon the world. They were, particularly, his great lamp of light to their human brothers; to shew forth the central unity of his nature, in their own belief; and to oppose the folly of that polytheism, which was in theirs. But it is still more startling, when we still further reflect; that the Jews were thus the church of God upon earth, and the depositaries of the true faith; and that, if *they* had not the doctrine of the Trinity, the Patriarchs had it not. Then the church, from Adam to our Saviour, must have had a belief in the *nature* of the Redeemer; very different from that, which has been professed by the church, from our
Saviour

Saviour to the present moment. And the Sun of Faith, in the essential and capital point of all, must have been *continually* under an eclipse; only one *half* of it *ever* communicating light, and the other being *perpetually* covered with a thick darkness.

But the fact is just the reverse. The Jews professed the same faith in this point, that we do. They derived it at first, from their ancestors the Patriarchs. They retained it through all the ages of their history. And they have only lost it now, as they have lost their title to the favour of God, and as they have lost other articles in the creed of their fathers.

That they do *now* set themselves in direct opposition to the doctrine of the Trinity, is very clear. They have always acknowledged the Redeemer of the Christians, to be displayed in the authoritative writings of Christianity, under the appellation and with the attributes of God^c. They thus confess, what

^c In that wretched fiction of Jewish malignity, which is entitled *Tholedoth Jesu*, or the Generations of Jesus, a kind of anti gospel, published by Huldrik; they state our *Saviour* and his *disciples* to have *taught*, that he was *God*, born of a *virgin*, who had conceived him by *the Holy Ghost* (Mod. Un. Hist. xiii. 513. octavo).—In *Tanchuma*, a famous book among the Jews, is a passage to this effect; “that Jesus Christ, whom they call wicked Balaam, *taught* “*that he was God*: and R. Tanchuma argues, that he was a mere “man”. (Allix’s Judgment of the Jewish Church against the Unitarians, p. 430, written in vindication of something said by Dr. Bull; a work of very extensive erudition in the antient and modern theology of the Jews, very judicious, and very convincing; formed in part upon the same plan with the present work, but executed even in

what all the laws of construction, all the principles of evidence, and all the possibilities of language, have been supposed by us Christians to proclaim, as the suggestion of *our* Scriptures. And they put our Arians to the blush, for presuming to deny it in contradiction to all. This they have always considered too, as the predominant opinion of Christians in all ages. They thus add one attestation more, to the many which we have already; for the fixed and established creed of Christianity, from the beginning. They oppose the doctrine of the Trinity, as the primogenial principle of our religion. And they therefore consider themselves, to be the witnesses of God against it; witnesses with their fathers, against the still remaining, though differently directed, idolatry of the Gentiles^d.

But

that part after a very different manner). “The learned Jews know well, that that prayer, which in the Christian countries is called the prayer against the Sadducees, and in other countries the prayer against the heretics and apostates, was truly and originally written against the *Christians*, for being teachers of a *Trinity* and of *Christ's Divinity*” (Ibid. p. 431).

^d Mod. Un. Hist. xiii. 454, and Phenix ii. 406. In the former, xiii. 430, it is said, that at the grand council of Jews assembled at Ageda in Hungary 1650, on some Christian clergymen announcing to them Jesus Christ, as their Messiah; they cried out, “No Christ, no *God-man!*” But this is a mistake. The clergymen were papists, and announced the *Virgin Mary* as an object of worship. “They affirmed—the invocation of saints, praying to the Virgin Mary, and her commanding in heaven over her Son.” Then the Jews cried out, “No Christ, no *woman-God!*” So says the very narrative, which the Universal Historians cite; Phenix i. 552. And this

But that this was *not* the *original* faith of their nation, may be satisfactorily shown; in opposition equally to the present opinions of most Christians, and to the hereditary prejudices of all the Jews. We can show it from those antient writings of the Jews, which now constitute the Evangelical History of the New Testament. We can show it from other writings of theirs, that are wholly or nearly coeval, and even prior, in antiquity. And we can point out with a *general* exactness, *when* the Jews first abandoned this faith of their fathers, and went over to their present opinions.

In this mode of considering the Gospels indeed, we appeal not to them as treasures of theology brought from heaven, or even as histories of the Jews divinely suggested. We appeal to them merely as common histories. And considering them even in this degraded light, stripped of their infallibility, and reduced to a level with compositions merely human; they prove decisively, that the Jews expected their Messiah to be a GOD, to be the SON of GOD, and to be CO-EQUAL with GOD the FATHER.

In this mode also of appealing to the Gospels, we may see other disputes that have agitated the church, determined at once by authority; and the truths of

this narrative, though branded as “fabulous” by a cotemporary Jew in Phenix ii. 401, carries all the marks of authenticity with it; and is very ~~curious~~.

theology

theology settled, by the sure attestation of history. I shall accordingly notice one, in order to throw a fuller light upon the present subject. We all know the controversy that WARBURTON excited a few years ago, concerning *no* futurity being held out in the Jewish law. This singularly able man, who without the customary aids of an academic education, and merely by the inherent vigour of his heaven-born genius, raised himself from the desk of an attorney, to the rank of a manly critic upon Shakespeare, to the honour of an eminent scholar in general literature, and to the dignity of a deep, sagacious, and judicious divine; with all that bold self-confidence of spirit, which is the very spring of such an intellect, and is heightened by its own exertions, asserted the doctrine of a future state to form *no* part of the law. This was certainly a very bold position, even for the adventurous soul of paradox to maintain; when “the law was our school-master, to “bring us to Christ^e.” Yet the law carried an appearance with it, very analogous to this position; exhibiting no promise of future reward, and presenting no threat of future punishment, upon the *face* of

^e Gal. iii. 24. When our Saviour in John v. 39. says, “Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have *eternal life*,” he means only the promise of a happy eternity, through a Redeemer. This the words immediately following show, “and they are they “which testify of me.” But the words additionally prove, that the Jews thought they had “eternal life” in the Scriptures.

it. And yet St. Paul says of himself and his cotemporaries: “ so worship I the God of my fathers, *believing all things that are written in the Law and the Prophets*; and have hope towards God, *which they themselves also allow, that there shall be a resurrection, both of the just and the unjust*.” Here then we have a lively hope of futurity, professed by the nation; while the national theology appears not to brighten, with a single ray of it. The truth is, that the national theology *did* hold out this, though the law does not insist upon it. The law was calculated only to hedge the Jews round from the nations of the world, to keep up a purity of practice and worship, and to maintain an unbroken faith concerning the coming Redeemer. But then it did not extinguish the grand principle of all religion before, the firm expectation, and the powerful dread, of an awful scene of retribution after death. This appears even *before the flood*, to have actuated the souls of the religious; from the striking prophecy of Enoch, concerning the coming of God with his angels, to judge the world in form, and to assign its inhabitants their deserved rewards and punishments^g. Indeed it is the life and soul of all religion; that, without which the Christian, the Jewish, and the Heathen, the Patriarchal, and the Ante-diluvian, must equally have been each of them a mere corpse. The Jewish

^f Acts xxiv. 14—15.

^g Jude 14—15.

actually

actually appears to have received the same vital energy of belief into it, as had animated the Antediluvian and Patriarchal before. This was still the *nucleus* inclosed within, which showed it was inclosed, by the influence of its moral magnetism upon the Jews. This was still the central fire of the whole globe, which lent a warmth of spirit to all its operations, and imparted a vigour of vegetation to all its productions. And we see this internal power disclosing itself perpetually, in the dramatic history of the Gospels. At one time a Jew asks our Saviour, "are there few that are *saved*;" and at another, his disciples cry out with amazement, "who then "can be *saved*^h." They thus mark the full conviction of their minds, concerning the future salvation or future damnation, of every individual of the human race. The very simplicity of the language, shows it the more fully. But they are not acquainted merely with the general doctrine. They know some grand circumstances of it. They know of a *judgment* that is to be passed by God, antecedent to either punishment or reward; and "every idle "word that men shall speak," says our Saviour in a direct reference to this idea, "they shall give account thereof in *the day of judgment*ⁱ." They know also of a *resurrection* to it, and of a *heaven* and a *hell* consequent upon it. The Sadducees were

^h Luke xiii. 24; and Mat. xix. 25.

ⁱ Mat. xii. 36.

distinguished

distinguished *from the rest of the nation*, by “ saying
 “ there is no resurrection:” but our Saviour “ put
 “ the Sadducees to silence;” even “ certain of the
 “ scribes answering said, Master, thou hast well
 “ said;” and “ the multitude were astonished”
 with admiration and delight, “ at his doctrine^k.”
 Accordingly we find in the further progress of the
 gospel, that St. Paul at one time asserts the whole
 body of his countrymen in general, to have “ hoped”
 and expected a “ resurrection;” and, at another,
 engaged the prejudices of the generality in his fa-
 vour, though he was an avowed Christian, by de-
 claring himself “ a Pharisee” and “ the son of a
 “ Pharisee,” and “ of the hope and resurrection of
 “ the dead” to be then “ called in question^l.”
 When our Saviour also tells them, “ that, in the
 “ end of this world, the Son of Man shall send
 “ forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his
 “ kingdom all things that offend, and them which
 “ do iniquity, and shall cast them into a furnace of
 “ fire;” and that then “ shall the righteous shine
 “ forth as the sun, in the kingdom of their Father:”
 he plainly speaks *in general*, to their previous con-
 ceptions concerning all; he therefore asks the peo-
 ple, “ Have ye understood all these things;” and
 they correspondently “ say unto him, Yea, Lord^m.”

^k Mat. xxii. 23, 33; Mark xii. 28; and Luke xx. 39.

^l Acts xxiii. 6.

^m Mat. xiii. 40—43, and 51.

These

These and a thousand passages beside, that occur in the narration of the Gospels, shew evidently whenever they are *historically* considered, the abiding sense of the Jews concerning a grand hereafter; and indeed represent the Jews to us, as equally convinced of this important truth, with us Christians ourselves. And all the preachings of our Saviour to them, all the hopes that he holds up, and all the terrors that he displays, are wholly founded on this known and certain conviction in them.

— III. —

When we can thus sit down to the Scriptures, taking off our minds (as it were) from the familiarity of the language and ideas, and reading them merely as a new and unknown book; we equally see our Saviour, in his conduct before the Jews, and in his addresses to them, assuming all the port of a God. To prove this, I shall not dwell on his repeated predictions of little and contingent events, contingent upon the precarious fancy of a moment in the mind, and yet drawn out into a train by *his* prophecy and in *their* accomplishment; thus giving precision to uncertainty, counting *beforehand* (as it were) the fluctuations of the waves in a storm, and tracing the *future* combinations of the clouds with an unerring pencil. These may be considered as transmitted powers of divinity, as essential in some degree to the very gift of prophecy, and as exercised

cised in part by all the prophets. I shall rest upon points more discriminative of his character.

Let us first look at the *air* and *manner*, in which he executes his greater acts of miraculous might. He speaks to the leper, "I will, be thou cleanⁿ." He says to the man with the withered hand, "Stretch forth thine hand^o." He tells the blind man, "Receive thy sight^p." He says to him who had now been crippled in his limbs, for eight and thirty years; "Take up thy bed, and walk^q." He calls to Lazarus, lying in the vault of rock before him, and swathed round with sepulchral linen; "Lazarus, come forth^r." And he finally takes upon him, to "rebuke" the most unruly elements of nature, the winds and the waves^s; and to address these words to the sea, then wildly agitated with a storm, "Peace, be still^t." These are all imperial acts of authority. They are all executed too, with an imperial tone of authority. They are obviously in their manner, the operations of inherent and essential Deity. The pointed brevity of the sentences, is the genuine sublimity of power; the easy language of a mind, reposing upon its own dignity, and familiar with exertions of Divinity.

This dignity of Divinity we accordingly see our Saviour, expressly assuming to himself at times. He

ⁿ Mat. viii. 3.

^o Mat. xii. 13.

^p Luke xviii. 43.

^q John v. 5, and 8.

^r John xi. 43.

^s Mat. viii. 25—26.

^t Mark iv. 39.

generally

generally describes himself indeed, by a title derived from his *humanity*; and calls himself THE SON OF MAN. But then this is the *human* appellation of the *Messiah*, and is used as such by Daniel. “ I
 “ saw in the night-visions,” says this prophet, who was allowed to look farther into the mystery of our Saviour’s awful visit to earth, than any of the other prophets except Isaiah; “ and behold one, like *the*
 “ *Son of Man*, came with the clouds of heaven, and
 “ came to the Ancient of Days, and they brought
 “ him near before him: and there was given him
 “ dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all
 “ people, nations, and languages, should serve him;
 “ his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which
 “ shall not pass away; and his kingdom, that which
 “ shall not be destroyed.” In so magnificent a manner, is the Messiah described by Daniel; even when he is spoken of only, as “ the Son of Man.” The humanity is deeply incased, as it were, in the Divinity. Our Saviour is accordingly represented in the Revelations of St. John, as “ one like unto
 “ *the Son of Man*,” as declaring himself expressly, to be “ he that liveth and was dead, and behold I am
 “ alive for evermore;” and yet as equally saying,
 “ I am Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last.” And the Jews appear to have understood our Saviour clearly, when he denominated himself “ the

▪ Daniel vii. 13—14.

× Rev. i. 13, 18, and 21.

“ Son of Man;” and, even amid all the grandeur which he threw around himself under that denomination, to have seen he was adopting the appellation and assuming the grandeur, as the august Personage in Daniel’s prophecy, as their Messiah now actually come upon earth^y. But he frequently describes himself too, as THE SON OF GOD. Nor is it easy to determine, whether he takes most state and consequence to himself, under *that* appellation or under *this*. Only he takes very much, under Both. And, as the numerous instances of this arise before us, we need not be inquisitive under which he takes them. Humanity is annexed by him to the Son of God, and divinity is attached by him to the Son of Man; because both were to unite in the Messiah, and both actually united in our Saviour.

He asserts, that *he* alone knows the Father; and that mankind have no other knowledge of the Father, than what they derive from *him*^z. He presumes to pronounce the FORGIVENESS OF SINS, when we are sure from every principle of religion, that “ no one can forgive sins but God alone;” and

^y There is only one time, in which they pretend *not* to understand the title. But this very pretence confirms my observation. “ The people answered him, We have heard out of the law, that “ Christ abideth for ever; and how sayest thou, The Son of Man “ must be lift up? Who is this Son of Man?” (John xii. 34). And the question is merely a captious one, tending to insinuate he could not be the Messiah or Son of Man, because he spoke so differently from Daniel concerning his continuance.

^z Mat. xi. 27.

to show by the appeal of a miracle to their senses, that he had such power^a. He goes on in the same strain of authority, to proclaim himself “greater than Jonas,” “greater than Solomon,” “greater than the Temple,” and even “the Lord of the Sabbath^b.” He avers himself also, to be *the Lord of David*; to have existed *before Abraham*; to be *the sower of the good seed, in the field of the world*; to be *ever present* to the prayers, of only *two or three* of his disciples assembled together in prayer; and to be a *co-worker with God*, in the exercise of divine power^c. His power he asserts to be derived from God the Father, but to be *actually commensurate with his*; saying “the Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do;” and affirming, “*what things soever* he (the Father) doeth, *these also doeth the Son likewise*^d.” He speaks of himself thus, in one place; “I will send unto you prophets and wise men and scribes, and some of them ye shall kill and crucify:” and in another actually *quotes himself*, after this remarkable but un-observed manner; “Therefore said also *the wisdom of God*, I will send unto them prophets and apostles, and some of them ye shall slay and persecute^e.” He thus exalts himself into the dignity, of being what

^a Mat. ix. 2; and Luke v. 21.

^b Mat. xii. 41, 42, 6, and 8.

^c Mat. xxii. 43—45; John viii. 58; Mat. xiii. 37; Mat. xviii. 19—20, and John v. 17.

^d John v. 19.

^e Mat. xxiii. 34; and Luke xi. 49.

we shall find him familiarly denominated by others hereafter, no less than the very WISDOM OF GOD. He declares himself too to be *in the Father*, and *the Father* to be *in him*^f; and himself to be consequently, and even in *his own* language, ONE WITH THE FATHER^g. He describes himself to have come down *from* heaven, and yet to be still *in* heaven^h; so vindicating the OMNIPRESENCE of God to himself. He affirms *he* has *all* power committed to him, in *heaven* and in *earth*ⁱ; so attributing to himself the OMNIPOTENCE of God. In consequence of the whole, he orders the admission of disciples into his religion, to be in *his* as well as in the Father's name^k; and by the order ensures the ADORATION of his Christians, equally to *himself* as to the Father. And at last he promises his Christians, his *continual protection to the end of the world*^l; taking into his own hands, the SUPREMACY of God over his church, and the PROVIDENCE of God over his creatures.

In this manner do even the meekness and modesty of the man Christ Jesus, invest him with all the ensigns of the Godhead. But he does so still more explicitly, in a single, though peculiarly awful, exertion of divine power. He informs us, that the grand exercise of God's sovereignty over man, at the consummation of his human world; and in the assignment of his human probationers, to their de-

^f John x. 38.

^g John x. 30.

^h John iii. 13.

ⁱ Mat. xxviii. 18.

^k Mat. xxviii. 19.

^l Mat xxviii. 20.

served places of existence for eternity; is *all committed* to *him*. This, he adds, is done expressly by God the Father, in order to throw a distinguished lustre of glory around our Saviour's head; and to exhibit him before the eyes of all mankind, as a *joint* sharer, and an *equal* partaker, of all their reverence for God^m. He accordingly assures us, that, at the last day, all who lie in their graves shall hear *his* voice, and at *his* call come forth to judgmentⁿ; that *he* shall send *his* angels, to collect all offenders out of *his* kingdom^o; that *he* shall also send *his* angels, to gather *his* elect from the four winds, and from one end of heaven to another^p; that *he* shall *himself* come in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory^q, with HIS OWN glory, with the glory of HIS FATHER, and with the glory of *all* his holy angels^r; that *he* shall then sit upon the throne of *his* glory^s, and all nations shall be assembled before *him*^t; that *he* will then deliver to every man, according to his works^u; that *he* will confess, and *he* will deny, those who confessed and denied *him* by their conduct in life^x; that even his *twelve apostles* shall sit upon twelve subordinate thrones of judgment with him, judging the twelve tribes of their countrymen^y; and that *he* will finally send away

^m John v. 22—23.ⁿ John v. 25, 28, 29.^o Mat. xiii. 41.^p Mat. xxiv. 31.^q Mat. xxiv. 30.^r Mat. xxv. 31; xvi. 27; and Luke ix. 26.^s Mat. xix. 28, and xxv. 31.^t Mat. xxv. 32.^u Mat. xvi. 27.^x Mat. x. 32—33.^y Mat. xix. 28.

the wicked into eternal punishment, and *he* will lead off the good into eternal happiness^z,

— IV. —

Drest up in these appropriated robes of God's state, wearing God's crown, and wielding God's scepter; does our Saviour repeatedly exhibit himself to our mind's eye. Nor could a particle of these high assumptions, have been borne by the Jews, have been received by the apostles, and have been uttered by our Saviour; if *they* had not expected their Messiah to come forward to them, and if *he* had not *therefore* represented himself to them, with all these circumstances and qualities of divine sovereignty. This alone can account for our Saviour's conduct, in claiming such grand prerogatives of power, and claiming them in so easy and familiar a manner. This alone, too, can account for the behaviour of the apostles, in receiving them without amazement. They considered them as essential parts of that venerable character, which they attributed to our Saviour. And this alone can additionally account, for the demeanour of the Jews under them; hearing them without showing any indignation at the *general* positions, even while they showed much at the *particular* application of them to himself. They acknowledged them to be the

^z Mat. xxv. 46, 41, and 34.

authoritative marks of the great Messiah; but thought it blasphemy in *him* to challenge them, because they owned him not for the Messiah.

Yet we need not rest the point, merely upon this strong basis of evidence. We see it positively settled by the very history. There the Jews appear expecting their Messiah, to be the SON of GOD, and, *as such*, to be EQUAL with GOD, an ASSESSOR with God upon his throne of Heaven, and the grand JUDGE of all the universe.

“Thou art,” says Peter to him, “Christ, *the Son* of the living God;” and our Saviour adds in reply, “Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven^a.” “I believe,” says Martha to him, “that thou art the Christ, *the Son* of God, which should come into the world^b.” Nathaniel addresses him in the same strain of compliment, when he breaks out into that sudden burst of conviction; “Rabbi, thou art *the Son* of God, thou art THE KING OF ISRAEL^c.” All the disciples, on his successful rebuke of the winds and waves, came to him worshipping and crying out; “Of a truth thou art *the Son* of God^d.” Thomas also, on a similar flash of conviction darting rapidly across his mind, exclaims in a similar but superiour style, “My LORD and my God^e.” And as Zecharias,

^a Mat. xvi. 16, 17.

^b John xi. 27.

^c John i. 49.

^d Mat. xiv. 33.

^e John xx. 28.

prophefying that John the Baptift fhould be the harbinger of our Saviour, fays, “Thou, child, fhalt
“ be called the prophet of THE HIGHEST, *for* thou
“ fhalt go before the face of THE LORD to prepare
“ his ways;” fo Elizabeth, the miraculous mother of the Baptift, fays to the virgin mother of our Saviour, “Whence is this to me, that the mother of
“ MY LORD fhould come to me^f?” The Jews therefore expected their Son of God, who was coming into the world; to be their *King*, their *Lord*, their *Higheft*, and their *God*.

The apoftles accordingly attribute to him, without hesitation, the very OMNISCIENCE of God. “Lord,
“ thou knoweft ALL things, thou knoweft that I
“ love thee;” is Peter’s unequivocal declaration to our Saviour, ftating at once the caufe and the effect, and urging from his univerfal to his particular knowledge^g. All his difciples too, on his fpeaking to fome feeret converfation among themfelves, and fo fhowing them “he knew they were defirous to
“ ask him;” broke out in an equal declaration to him, “*Now* are we *sure* that thou knoweft ALL
“ things, and needeft not that ANY MAN SHOULD
“ ASK THEE; by *this* we *believe*, that THOU CAMEST
“ FORTH FROM GOD^h.” And “many,” adds St. John, “believed in his name, when they faw the
“ miracles which he did; but Jefus did not commit

^f Luke i. 76, and 43.

^g John xxi. 17.

^h John xvi. 30.

“ himself unto them, because HE KNEW ALL MEN,
 “ and NEEDED NOT THAT ANY SHOULD TESTIFY OF
 “ MAN, for HE KNEW WHAT WAS IN MAN ⁱ.”

The Baptist also tells the Jews concerning him, that “ one mightier than himself was coming after him,” the very “ *latchet of whose shoes* he was not “ worthy to stoop down and unloose ^k.” He adds too concerning him: “ He that cometh *from above* “ is ABOVE ALL; he that is of the *earth*, is earthly, “ and speaketh of the earth; he that cometh from “ *heaven*, is ABOVE ALL ^l.” He also subjoins, that this wonderful personage is to be the mighty JUDGE of the world. He does not do this indeed, by asserting his judicial authority in a direct and positive manner, as if he was opening a *new* truth to their understandings; but as speaking upon a point, that was well known to their minds, and familiar to their spirits; therefore sliding over the *fact*, and resting only on the *circumstances*. His “ fan is in his hand,” he says; “ and he will thoroughly purge his floor, “ and will gather his wheat into his garner, and “ will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire ^m.”

But this judicial authority of the Son of God, is insisted upon still more in these first annals of Christianity. “ Art thou,” says the high-priest to our Saviour, “ the Christ, *the Son* of the Blessed? And “ Jesus said, I AM; *and* ye shall see the Son of Man

ⁱ John ii. 23—25.

^l John iii. 31.

^k Mark i. 7.

^m Mat. iii. 12.

“ SITTING

“ SITTING ON THE RIGHT HAND OF POWER, and
 “ COMING IN THE CLOUDS OF HEAVEN ⁿ.” The
 high-priest asked our Saviour, with all the reigning
 ideas of the Jews at the time; and our Saviour spoke
 to those ideas, in his reply. The Jews, therefore,
 were in full assurance at the moment; that their
 Messiah, “ the Son of the Blessed,” was to “ sit
 “ on the right hand of Power,” as a COLLEAGUE
 with God in the supremacy of the universe, and as
 an ASSOCIATE with God in the throne of heaven.
 This is St. Mark’s account. But let us see St.
 Luke’s. “ They carried him,” says the latter,
 “ to the judgment-seat, saying, Art thou *the Christ*?”
 “ Hereafter,” says our Saviour in reply, “ shall
 “ *the Son of Man* SIT ON THE RIGHT HAND OF THE
 “ POWER OF GOD. Then said they all, Art thou
 “ then *the Son of God*? And he said unto them, YE
 “ SAY THAT I AM ^o.” This shows us very clearly
 concerning that Being, who is here denominated
 with such a ready transition from title to title, “ the
 “ Christ,” “ the Son of Man,” and “ the Son of
 “ God:” that to sit on the right hand of God the
 Father, was so much the exclusive and characteris-
 tick privilege of the Messiah, in *their* opinion and in
his; as, to claim the privilege was to assume the
 character, in *theirs*; and to assume the character was
 to claim the privilege, in *his*. And, from both these

ⁿ Mark xiv. 61—62.

^o Luke xxii. 67, 69, 70.

passages united, the Jews appear plainly at the time, to have expected in their Messiah an awful and revered Being, who was to be *the Son of Man* and *the Son of God* united in one; who should at the last day, as both, COME VISIBLY FROM THE RIGHT HAND OF GOD THE FATHER, and VISIBLY DESCEND THROUGH THE OPENED CLOUDS TO JUDGE THE WORLD.

Yet they went even farther, in their opinions. We have already seen our Saviour, receiving without reprehension the appellation of GOD, and the attributes of OMNISCIENCE, from *some* of the Jews. We shall now see *all* the Jews acknowledging, that their Messiah, *as* the Son of God, was to be GOD, and so to be EQUAL with God.

“Your father Abraham,” says our Saviour to the Jews, “rejoiced to see my day; and he saw it, “and was glad.” Our Saviour thus proposes himself to his countrymen, as their Messiah; that grand object of hope and desire to their fathers, and particularly to this first father of the faithful, Abraham. But his countrymen, not acknowledging his claim to the character of Messiah, and therefore not allowing his supernatural priority of existence to Abraham; chose to consider his words, in a signification merely human. “Then said the Jews unto him, “Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou “seen Abraham?” But what does our Saviour reply, to this low and gross comment upon his intimation? Does he retract it, by warping his language

guage to their poor perverseness, and so waving his pretensions to the assumed dignity? No! To have so acted, would have been derogatory to *his* dignity, and injurious to *their* interests. He actually repeats his claim to the character. He actually enforces his pretensions, to a supernatural priority of existence. He even heightens both. He mounts up far beyond Abraham. He ascends beyond all the orders of creation. And he places himself with God, at the head of the universe. He thus arrogates to himself all that high pitch of dignity, which the Jews expected their Messiah to assume. This he does too in the most energetick manner, that his simplicity of language, so natural to inherent greatness, would possibly admit. He also introduces what he says, with much solemnity in the form, and with more in the repetition. “ Verily, verily, I say
 “ unto you,” he cries, “ BEFORE ABRAHAM WAS,
 “ I AM.” He says not of himself, as he says of Abraham, “ Before he WAS, I WAS.” This indeed would have been sufficient, to affirm his existence previous to Abraham. But it would not have been sufficient, to declare what he *now* meant to assert, his full claim to the majesty of the Messiah. He therefore drops all forms of language, that could be accommodated to the mere creatures of God. He arrests one, that was appropriate to the Godhead itself. “ Before Abraham *was*,” or still more properly, “ Before Abraham was MADE,” he says;
 “ I AM.”

“ I AM P.” He thus gives himself the signature of *un-created* and *continual* existence, in direct opposition to *contingent* and *created*. He says of himself,

That an eternal now for ever lasts

with him. He attaches to himself that very stamp of *eternity*, which God appropriates to his Godhead in the Old Testament; and from which an apostle afterwards describes “ Jesus Christ” expressly, to be “ the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever^q.” Nor did the Jews pretend to mis-understand him now. They could not. They heard him directly and decisively vindicating, the noblest rights of their Messiah, and the highest honours of their God, to himself. They considered him, as a mere pretender to *those*. They therefore looked upon him, as a blasphemous arrogator of *these*. “ Then took they “ up stones, to cast at him” as a blasphemer^r; as what indeed he was in his pretensions to be God, if

P Πρην Αβρααμ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ, εγω ειμι. The Ethiopick version accordingly renders the words, “ priusquam Abraham *nascetur*, “ fui ego;” and the Persian, “ nondum Abraham *factus erat*, cūm “ ego eram” (Pearson on the Creed, p. 111, in that treasury of knowledge his Notes. Edit. 12th, 1741). So likewise does the Syriack version run: “ ante quā FIERET Abraham, ego sum” (P. 333. a Martino Trostio. 1621. Cothenis Anhaltinorum).

^q Heb. xiii. 8.

^r Lev. xxiv. 16. “ He that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, “ he shall surely be put to death, and all the congregation shall cer- “ tainly *stone* him: as well the stranger as he that is born in the “ land, when he blasphemeth the name of the Lord, shall be put to “ death.”

he had not been in reality their Messiah and their God in one. But he instantly proved himself to their very senses, to be both; by exerting the energetick powers of his Godhead, upon them. For he “*bid himself; and went out of the Temple, going through the midst of them; and so passed by*”^s.

“I and my Father,” spoke our Saviour upon another occasion, “ARE ONE. Then the Jews took up stones *again*, to stone him;—saying, Because that thou, being a Man, MAKEST THYSELF GOD. —Jesus answered them;—Say ye of him whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest, because I said, I AM THE SON OF GOD?—Know and believe, that THE FATHER IS IN ME AND I IN HIM. *Therefore* they sought *again* to take him; but he escaped out of their hand,” by the exertion of the same powers of Godhead^t.

Thus did the Jews expect a *Son of God*, who was to be *intimate in union*, and *one in essence*, with God the Father; and so to be GOD himself, the great I AM, and the very JEHOVAH of the Old Testament.

In the same tenour of opinions among the Jews, concerning the substantial divinity of the promised Messiah; and on the same sort of instant appeal to their opinions, by another declaration of our Saviour’s; we see the Jews a *third* time resolving to murder him. “Therefore,” as we are told, “the

^s John viii. 56—59.

^t John x. 30, 31, 36, 38, and 39.

“Jews

“ Jews fought the more to kill him, because he not
 “ only broke the Sabbath, but also called GOD HIS
 “ FATHER, MAKING HIMSELF EQUAL WITH GOD.”
 In strict fidelity of translation, he “ called God,”
 not merely “ *his* Father,” but “ HIS OWN PROPER
 “ Father,” *his* in a *proper* and *peculiar* degree of
 filial relation; and *so* made himself *equal* with God
 “ his Father^u.” And the Jews evidently appear at
 the close, to have considered the Deity, as consisting
at least of GOD THE FATHER, and of GOD THE SON;
 a Son, who was equally GOD with the Father, and
 equal with the Father in GODHEAD.

In this state of the Jewish opinions concerning
 the Divinity, we see plainly what we cannot see at
 all without a reference to them. We understand, why
 the very *devils* address our Saviour, as “ the Son of
 “ God,” as “ the Son of the Most High God,” as
 “ the Son of God Most High,” and as the future con-
 signer of them to their torments in hell^x. We per-
 ceive

^u John v. 18. πατέρα ΙΔΙΟΝ ελεγε τον θεον.

^x Mark iii. 11, v. 7; Luke viii. 28; and Mat. viii. 29. These
 extraordinary personages in the New Testament, are not called *de-*
vils, Διαβολοι, in the original; that word never occurring in the
 Christian scriptures, but in the singular number, and as applied to one
 Being alone. They are called *dæmons*, Δαιμονες or Δαιμονια. Yet
 they are plainly devils in fact; being called Unclean Spirits, though
 sometimes only Spirits (Mark ix. 20; and Luke x. 20); and showing
 themselves to be devils, by their whole history. In Mat. xii. 24 and 26
 particularly, the Pharisees say “ our Saviour casts out devils (dæmons)
 “ by Beelzebub the prince of the devils (dæmons);” and our Saviour
 replies,

ceive also, why the very *angels* speak of him, as one to be called “the Son of God;” as “the Son of the “Highest;” as “EMMANUEL, which, being interpreted, is GOD WITH US;” and as one whose harbinger, John the Baptist, was to “turn many of “the children of Israel to THE LORD THEIR GOD, “and to go before HIM in the spirit and power of “Elias^y.” Angels and devils thus speak, because they were speaking to Jews; because *those* were speaking to men, who expected the Son of God to appear immediately among them, who knew he was to be “the Lord their God,” and who therefore knew, that, when he came, he would be “Emmanuel” or “God among men;” and because *these* were addressing themselves to that very Being,

replies, that then “Satan casts out Satan.” See also Luke x. 17—18; where the apostles rejoicing declare, “even the devils (dæmons) “are subject unto us;” and our Saviour says “unto them, I beheld “Satan as lightening fall from heaven.” So very false in itself, and directly contradicted by the very words of our Saviour, is that hypothesis of Dr. Campbell’s in his new translation of the Gospels; which asserts these possessions of the New Testament to be nowhere attributed to the devil, and which avers the dominion or authority of the devil to be nowhere ascribed to the dæmons! Beelzebub is expressly called the *prince* of the dæmons, the dæmons are expressly denominated *Satan* with him, and these are only inferior devils subordinate to the great one. And though the word *dæmons* (as Dr. Campbell urges) might critically be more exact in a translation; yet the word *devils* better accords, with the usages of our language and the course of our ideas. Exactness therefore has been properly sacrificed to utility.

^y Luke i. 35, 32; Mat. i. 23; and Luke i. 16—17.

now actually come, under his all-comprehending title of "the Son of God."

Thus does the whole history of the Jews, in the days of our Saviour; and thus do all the agents in it, our Saviour himself, his apostles, and the whole nation of the Jews, men, devils, and angels; all unite to blazon forth the faith of the Jews cotemporary with our Saviour, as a faith of DIVINITY in their Messiah. The Jews, whatever they may *now* say or think, were *originally* as much believers in the DIVINITY of their Christ, as we are in that of our Jesus; and never revolted from this faith, which they had received from their fore-fathers the Patriarchs, till they revolted from *their* Christ and *our* Jesus in one, till they rejected the King of Israel, and till they crucified the God of the Patriarchs upon Mount Calvary.

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

— I. —

HAVING now established the belief of the Jews in this article, let me endeavour to ascertain; *when* they relinquished it, and adopted their present opinion. This it may be difficult to do, history taking little notice of variations of sentiment in theology, and such a variation as that being sure to be slowly and silently effected. Yet we *can* ascertain the point. We can show the Jews, as I shall show them in this and the following chapter, still retaining their antient creed for some time after our Saviour. We can also prove them, as in the succeeding chapter I shall; at a particular period afterwards, ceasing to retain it any longer. And we can thus circumscribe that point of time, which was the grand pivot of the Jewish faith; and which is signalized to the world, by such an extraordinary movement upon it.

We have several writings of Jews, within a century after our Saviour's death. At the head of these, are the works of PHILO JUDÆUS. This author, as we are informed by that early and valuable historian of Christianity, Eusebius, "flourished
D " man

“ man of great eminence with the generality, not
 “ merely of our Christian brethren, but also of such
 “ as have been bred in Gentile literature: in his
 “ descent he was a Hebrew, and yielded to none
 “ of those at Alexandria, who were distinguished
 “ for their consequence: *what and how great ad-*
 “ *vances he made*, in the knowledge of the *divine*
 “ and *Jewish* religion; is evident to all from his
 “ *writings*: and, in the philosophick and liberal
 “ parts of Gentile literature, I need not say how
 “ great he was; for studying with peculiar zeal the
 “ discipline of Plato and Pythagoras, he is *reported*
 “ *by history* to have surpassed all his cotempora-
 “ *ries* ^a.” Philo’s acquaintance with *the doctrines of*
the Heathens, was known only by *historical report* to
 Eusebius; while the *writings* of Philo displayed his
 knowledge, in *the religion of the Jews*. Philo was
 also sent at the head of a Jewish legation, from
 Alexandria to Rome; in the time of Caligula ^b.
 But he was sent on a second, in the succeeding days

^a Eusebius (Reading’s edit. vol. i.) Hist. ii. 4. p. 51. Καὶ αὖτε
 τῶν, Caligula, φίλων ἐγνωρίζοιτο, πλείστοις αὐτῇ ὁ μόνον τῶν ἡμετέρων,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξωθεν ὁρμωμένων παιδείας ἐπιστημολογῶν· τὸ μὲν
 ἦν γένος ἀνεκαθεν Ἑβραῖος ἦν· τῶν δ’ ἐπ’ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐν τελείᾳ διαφανῶν,
 ἡδυνότος χειρῶν· περὶ μὲν ἦν τὰ θεία καὶ παλῖα μαθήματα, πόσον τε καὶ πη-
 λικὸν εἰσενήνεκται πόρον, ΕΡΓΩ πασι δηλὸς· καὶ περὶ τὰ φιλοσοφὰ δὲ καὶ
 ἐλευθερία τῆς ἐξωθεν παιδείας οἷός τις ἦν, ἔθεν δὲ λεγεῖν· οἷε καὶ μάλιστα
 τὴν κατὰ Πλάτωνα καὶ Πυθαγόραν ἐξηλωκώς ἀγωγὴν, διενεγκεῖν ἀπάντας
 τῆς κατ’ αὐτὸν ΙΣΤΟΡΕΙΤΑΙ.

^b See his work De Legatione ad Caium, p. 992, in Philonis Ju-
 daei omnia quæ extant opera. Paris, 1640.

of Claudius^c. He was therefore a cotemporary with the apostles. And the *writings* of such a man as this, must be a full evidence of the opinions of the Jews, at the moment.

He was a Hellenist Jew of Alexandria, considerable in his family and fortune^d; and, what was much more to his honour, actuated with a lively spirit of religiousness. He spent a long life, in writing a variety of treatises upon points of the national theology, and giving them afterwards to the world. So early as the reign of Claudius, and during the lifetime of the author, his works were in the possession of the publick, and even repositied in the libraries at Rome^e. They have been since published in the modern way, from the preſs: and with two fragments of works that have perished, three correspondent passages from other authors, and that almost necessary adjunct to every Greek work at present, a Latin translation; form a folio of twelve hundred pages^f. And Eusebius, in his curious collection of opinions which he calls an Evangelical Preparation, has preserved several other passages, that ought to have been added as fragments to the rest^g. In all these writings, Philo has shown a

^c Eusebius ii. 4. p. 51. and ii. 17. p. 65.

^d Eusebius before, and Josephus's testimony prefixed with it to Philo's works.

^e Eusebius ii. 17. p. 72.

^f In the Paris edition.

^g P. 190, 195, 198, 209, 213, and 223—235. Paris, 1544. Stephens.

pleasing, and yet puzzling, disquisitiveness of genius. His mind, all the while, is busily operating upon itself. And, like the silk-worm, he is spinning a multiplicity of fine threads out of his own bowels, and is continually burying himself in his own web of silk.

In these exertions of his fancy at the expence of his judgment, which were occasioned probably by his making them in the early and lively period of his life^h; Philo throws out a number of declarations, that show his own and the Jewish belief in a secondary sort of God, a God subordinate in origin to the Father of all, yet most intimately united with him, and sharing his most unquestionable honours. Philo thus coincides directly, with all that we have seen pointed out to us already, by the evangelical history of our religion. Only there is a striking difference, in the conduct of the evangelical historians and of him. They are continually historians; historians indeed of the most simple and unaffected kind, that ever came forward for the instruction of man; and historians therefore, calculated peculiarly to be the annalists of Him, who was Simplicity itself, who was Greatness without the slightest tincture of affectation, Majesty without arrogation, and Deity without assumption. But Philo is historical only in two of his pieces, the behaviour of

^h See a note ch. iii. sect. 2.

Flaccus, and the embassy to Caligula. In his other pieces, however they may be historical in their nature; he instantly deserts the path of history, and ranges freely through the wilds of imagination. And, in all his pieces, he is continually affecting a strain of critical subtlety, that disgusts us with its injudiciousness, while it strikes us with its ingeniousness; and creates an equal sensation of wonder and of condemnation, in our minds. He is a perpetual allegorist. Every incident in the history, every name in the narrative, and almost every word in either, that he has occasion to cite from the Old Testament; grows up in his warm and forming hand, into an allegory. “Being copious in language,” says Eusebius of him very justly, “and taking a large compass in his sentiments, and mounting to a high and extraordinary pitch in his speculations on the word of God; he hath made a variegated and multifarious exposition, of Holy Writ.” “There are,” adds Photius still more justly of him, “many and various compositions of his, containing essays on morals and comments on the Old Testament; mostly forced out of the letter, into an allegory: from which, I think, even every allegorical discourse upon Scripture, now

¹ Eccl. Hist. ii. 18. p. 70. πολὺς γὰρ μὲν τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ πλατὺς ταῖς διανοαῖς, ὑψηλὸς τε καὶ μέλειος ἐν ταῖς εἰς τὰς θείας γραφὰς θεωρίαις γεγεννημένος, ποικίλην καὶ πολὺτρόπον τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων πεπρωμένην τὴν ὑφήγησιν.

“ in the church, took occasion to break in ^k.” Photius thus considers him as the father of that mode of allegorizing Scripture, which, in the hands of a superiour intelligence like an apostle, may become an useful species of exposition at times, just as lions and tigers have been made to draw the car of a triumph; but was proving itself vain and foolish in other hands, so early as the days of Photius; and, in our own country, has shown itself as dangerous as it is visionary, extending its operations over the New Testament equally with the Old, and going on to catch the rectified spirit of both in its alembick, till the very letter began to evaporate away. Philo has not pursued his allegorical propensities, to so extravagant a length as this. But he has pursued them very far. He has spread a cloud of allegory, over the popular belief of his countrymen and cotemporaries at Jerusalem, in the positive divinity of the Son of God; which prevents us from beholding it in so strong and full a blaze of light, as we see playing upon it before in the biographers of our Saviour. Yet we still see it. No cloud could intercept this bright effulgence, entirely from our view. It breaks through every impediment in its way. It travels down, like the light of a distant

^k Photius prefixed to Philo: Φερεται δε αυτη πολλα και ποικιλα συνταγματα, ηθικας λογους περιεχοντα και της παλαιας υπομνηματα, τα πλειστα προς αλληγοριαν τε γραμματος εκδιαζομενα· εξ ου, οιμαι, και πας αλληγορικος της γραφης εν τη εκκλησια λογος εσχεν αρχην εισρηναι.

star, to our eyes. And it thus makes us to see the more, the vigour and vividness of the orb from which all proceeds¹.

— II. —

In this humour of allegorizing, Philo uses not the name for his derivative Being in the Godhead, which we see the other Jews of the time using in the Gospels. He speaks not of him, by his natural appellation of the Son of God. No! He takes up another title for him, which indeed was known equally to other Jews, or Philo could not possibly have adopted it; which was known equally to the Gentiles, as I shall show hereafter; but which was known only to the scholars of either. He calls him “the Logos of God.” This is a name, that can be borrowed, together with the idea annexed to it, only from the Jews, or from the common ancestors of them and of the Gentiles; that answers exactly to the *Dabar* of Jehovah in the Hebrew Scriptures, and to the *Memra* of Jehovah in the Chaldee paraphrasts upon them; and signifies merely “the Word

¹ “The Jews themselves, finding every thing in Philo so agreeable to the notions, that their ancestors had in his age; do own them (his writings) to be the writings of a Jew, and of Philo in particular: as we see in Manasseh Ben Israel, who in many places alledges his authority; and (in Exod. p. 137) shews, that his opinions do generally agree with those of their most ancient authors” (Allix’s Judgment, p. 78).

“ of God ^m.” This name has been since introduced into our religion, by one of the inspired teachers of it. And notwithstanding the ductility of the Greek language in this instance, which would allow it to be rendered either the *Word* or the *Reason* of God; yet the English Bible, with a strict adherence to

^m That the *Memra* of Jehovah (a Chaldaick word which superseded the *Dabar* of David in Psalm xxxiii. 6, and of some Jews since our Saviour, Allix’s Judgment, p. 344 and 366) means this very Logos; is too evident to leave any possibility of doubting it. In Levit. xxvi. 9, “ I will be your God,” is in Jonathan’s paraphrase, “ *My Word* shall be unto you *God the Redeemer* ;” and ibid. ver. 11, “ My Soul” is in Onkelos’s paraphrase “ *My Word*, shall not abhor you.” “ To the *Word* are attributed the great things predicted of the *Messiah*, Is. ix. 7; *Jehovah* himself is expounded by the *Lord’s Christ*, Is. xxviii. 5; this *Word* of the Lord is called the *Redeemer*, Jer. xlii. 5; and his *Redemption* is called *Everlasting*, Is. xlv. 17; and *the creation of the world is imputed to him*, Jer. xxviii. 5.” See Kidder’s Demonstration of the Messiah, part iii. p. 107—108. edit. 2, and preface to this part p. xi, for these and other instances: only in iii. 108 he writes by a mistake, “ the Lord said *by*,” instead of “ the Lord said *to*,” “ his Word.” “ Wherever the words *Jehovah* and *Elohim* are read in the Hebrew, there Onkelos commonly renders it in his Chaldee paraphrase, *the Word of the Lord*.—The Targums commonly describe the same person under the title of *Shekinah*.—And—we see—the most famous writers of the synagogue,—looking upon the *Memra* and the *Shekinah*, as the same. So doth R. Moses Maimonides, R. Menachem de Rakanaty, and Ramban, and R. Bachaye” (Allix, p. 150). And, what adds very strongly to this argument, the Arians are now come to own its truth. See Essay on Spirit, p. 49—50. edit. 2d, 1752; and what is only a large expansion of it in the *Arianism*, without any reply to the decisive answers given it, the Apology of Ben Mordecai by H. Taylor, A. M. vol. i. p. 340—345. edit. 2d. 1784.

propriety,

propriety, and in full conformity to the antient Christians and antient Jews, has rejected the accidental signification, and embraced only the immediate and the genuine. Yet, even now, the name is confined in its use to the more improved intellects among us. And it must therefore have peculiarly been in the days of Philo, the *philosophical* denomination of Him, who was *popularly* called the Son of God.

The use of the name of Logos or Word, by Philo and by St. John in concurrence; sufficiently marks the knowledge of the name, among the Jews. But the total silence concerning it, by the Jewish writers of the three first Gospels; the equal silence of the introduced Jews concerning it, in all the four; and the *acknowledged* use of it through all the Jewish records of our religion, merely by St. John himselfⁿ; prove it to have been familiar to a few only. It is indeed too mysterious in its allusion, and too reducible into metaphor in its import, to have ever been the common and ordinary appellation, for the Son of God. Originating from the *spiritual* principle of connection, betwixt the first and the second Being in the Godhead; marking this, by a *spiritual* idea of connection; and considering it to be as close and as necessary, as the *Word* is to the energetick *Mind* of God, which cannot bury its intellectual energies in

ⁿ See hereafter for two instances of its use by others, that are not acknowledged.

silence,

silence, but must put them forth in speech; it is too *spiritual* in itself, to be addressed to the faith of the multitude. If with so full a reference to our *bodily* ideas, and so positive a *filiation* of the Second Being to the First, we have seen the grossness of Arian criticism, endeavouring to resolve the doctrine into the mere dust of a figure; how much more ready would it have been to do so, if we had only such a *spiritual* denomination as this, for the second? This would certainly have been considered by it, as too unsubstantial for distinct personality, and therefore too evanescent for equal divinity.

St. John indeed adopted this philosophical title, for the denomination of the Son of God; only in one solemn and prefatory passage of his Gospel, in two slight and incidental passages of his Epistles*, and in one of his Book of Revelations. Even there, the use of the popular instead of the philosophical name, in the three Gospels antecedent to his; precluded all probability of misconstruction. Yet, not content with this, he formed an additional barrier. At the same instant in which he speaks of the Logos, he asserts him to be distinct from God the Father, and yet to be equally God with him. "In the be-

* There is only one acknowledged, that of 1 John v. 7. But *this* is evidently another; "that which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have *seen with our eyes*, which we have looked upon, and *our hands have handled*, of THE WORD of life" (1 John i. 1).

“ginning,” he says, “was THE WORD; and THE WORD was *with* God; and THE WORD was GOD.” Having thus secured the two grand points relating to the Logos, he can have nothing more to say upon the subject; than to repeat what he has stated, for impressing the deeper conviction. He accordingly repeats it. His personality he impresses again, thus; “THE SAME was in the beginning *with* God.” His divinity also he again inculcates, thus: “ALL THINGS WERE MADE BY HIM, and WITHOUT HIM WAS NOT ANY THING MADE THAT WAS MADE.” Here the very repetition itself, of enforcing his claim to divinity, by ascribing the creation to him; is plainly an union of two clauses, each announcing him as the Creator of the universe, and one doubling over the other. And the uncreated nature of his own existence, is the more strongly enforced upon the mind; by being contrasted with the created nature, of all other existences. These were MADE, but he himself WAS; *made* by Him, who *was* with God and *was* God^P. Nor would all this precaution suffice, in the opinion of St. John. He must place still stronger fences, against the dangerous spirit of error. He therefore goes on to say, in confirmation of his personality and divinity, and in application of all to our Sa-

^P Ο λογος ΗΝ προς τον θεον, και θεος ΗΝ ο λογος; and παντα δι' αυτου ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ, και χωρις αυτου ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ εδε εν ο ΓΕΤΟΝΕΝ.

viour: "HE was in the world, and THE WORLD
 " WAS MADE BY HIM, and the world knew him not;
 " HE came unto HIS OWN [PROPER DOMAINS], and
 " HIS OWN [PROPER DOMESTICKS] received him
 " not^q." And he closes all, with judiciously draw-
 ing the several parts of his assertions before, into
 one full point; and with additionally explaining his
 philosophical term, by a direct reference of it to
 that popular one, which he uses ever afterwards:
 " and THE WORD was made flesh, and dwelt among
 " us; and we beheld his glory, the glory as of THE
 " ONLY BEGOTTEN OF THE FATHER, full of grace
 " and truth^r."

Yet, when such guards were requisite, what in-
 duced St. John to use this philosophical title at all?
 The reason was assuredly this. The title was in high
 repute, and in familiar use, among the refined spi-

^q So τα ἴδια in Luke xvi. 32, xix. 27, and Acts xxi. 6. signify
the proper home. Εἰς ΤΑ ΙΔΙΑ ἦλθε, καὶ Οἱ ΙΔΙΟΙ αὐτὸν ἔπαρελαβον.

^r Yet Arius, with all that unfeelingness of assurance, which was
 first introduced into the heresy, I believe, by this Patriarch of it;
 and is carefully preserved by his heretical posterity, at present; took
 advantage of the *term*, to deny the *theology*. "Well said John,"
 he cries, "In the beginning was the Word, *that is the speech of God*;
 " for he said not, In the beginning was the Son, but *the pronounced*
 " *word of God*:" καλῶς εἶπεν ὁ Ἰωάννης, Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, τῷ ἔσθι τὸ
 ῥῆμα τὸ θεῶν· ἔτι γὰρ εἶπεν, Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ υἱός, ἀλλ' ὁ λόγος ὁ προφορικὸς
 τὸ θεῶν (Anastasi^{us}'s Hodegus 330, Fabricius's Index to it in Bib.
 Græ. ix. 315). Perhaps a stronger instance of Arian audacity, can-
 not be produced; of audacity in asserting, to the very face and front
 of evidence.

rits of the age; and his Gospel was peculiarly calculated, for the service of *such*. The almost perpetual recurrence of the appellation in Philo's works, shows evidently the use and the repute in which it was, among the more spiritualized of the Jews. St. John therefore adopted it himself, for the more easy access to *their* conviction. It was also congenial probably of itself, to the spiritualized state of St. John's mind. He, who has dwelt so much more than the other Evangelists, upon the *doctrines* of our Saviour; and who has drawn out so many of them, in all their spiritual refinement of ideas; would naturally prefer the *spiritual* term of relationship for God the Son and God the Father, before the *bodily*; whenever the intellect was raised enough to receive it, and whenever the use of it was sufficiently guarded from danger. These were two reasons, I suppose, that induced St. John to use it a *few* times. And these were equally (I suppose) the reasons, that induced him, with all his guards, to use it *only a few*.

Nor let us be told in the rashness of Arian absurdity, that we misunderstand St. John in this interpretation of his words. If reason is capable of explaining words, and if St. John was capable of conveying his meaning in words to the ear of reason; then we may boldly appeal to the common sense of mankind, and insist upon the truth of our interpretation. Common sense indeed hath *already* determined

mined the point, in an impartial person, in an enemy, in a Heathen. I allude to that extraordinary approbation, which was given by a Heathen of the third century to this passage of St. John. "Of modern philosophers," says Eusebius, "*Ame-
lius* is an eminent one; being himself, if ever
there was one, a zealot for the philosophy of
Plato; and he called the Divine of the Hebrews
a Barbarian, as if he would not condescend to
make mention of the Evangelist John by name^s." Such is Eusebius's account of our referee. But what are the terms of his award? They are these. "And
such indeed was the Logos," he says, "by whom,
a perpetual Existence, the things created were
created, as also Heraclitus has said; and who by
Jupiter, *the Barbarian* says, being constituted in
the rank and dignity of a Principle, is with God
and is God, by whom all things absolutely were
created; in whom the created living thing, and
life, and existence, had a birth, and fell into a
body, and putting on flesh appeared a man;
and, after showing the greatness of his nature, and
being wholly dissolved, is again deified and is
God, such as he was before he was brought down
into the body and the flesh and a man. These

^s Eusebius's Prep. Evang. 317. Των νεων φιλοσοφων διαφανης γε-
γονως Αμηλιος, της Πλατωνος και αυλος, ει και τις αλλος, ζηλωτης φιλοσο-
φιας, πλην αλλα Βαρβαρον ονομασας τον Εβραιων θεολογον, ει και μη επ'
ονομαλιος ηξιωσε τε Ευαγγελιστη Ιωαννη μνημην ποιησασθαι.

" things,

“ things, if translated out of *the Barbarian's* theology, not as shaded over there, but on the contrary as placed in full view, would be plain.” In this very singular and very valuable comment, upon St. John's Gospel in general, and upon his preface in particular; we may see, through the harsh and obscure language of the whole, some circumstances of great moment. The bold air of arrogance in the blinded Heathen over the illuminated Divine, must strike at once upon every eye. But the Logos appears from him, to have been known to the *philosophers* of antiquity *later* than the Gospel; and known too, as a perpetual Existence, and the Maker of the

* Eusebius 317—318. Και τέλος αρα ην ο λογος, καθ' ον, αι οντα, τα γινόμενα εγενετο, ως αν και ο Ηρακλειδος αξιωσεις και, η Δι', ον ο Βαρβαρος αξιοι εν τη της Αρχης (not, as the words are exhibited by Stephens here, ταξει και αλαξια, which form an opposition of language and a contradiction of sentiment, that destroys the consistence of the whole, but as Vigerus reads the words “ ex manuscripto, “ cui similes Theodoretus et Cyrillus,” ταξει και αξια) καθεστη- κολα (a designed interpretation of the words εν αρχη ην ο λογος in St. John, as signifying, In the Principle or Cause of all things, was the Logos; just as Methodius explains the η Αρχη here, to be “ the Father and Maker of all things,” Bull, p. 147) προς θεον ειναι, και θεον ειναι· δι' ο πανθ' απλως γεγενησθαι· εν ω το γενομενον ζων και ζων και ον πεφυκεναι, και εις τα σωματα (for which σωμα is used below) πιπλειν, και σαρκα ενδυσαμενον, φανταζεσθαι ανθρωπον· μετα και τετηνικαιλα δεικνυειν της φυσεως το μεγαλειον, αμελει και αναλυθειλα, παλιν αποθεσθαι, και θεον ειναι, οιος ην προ τε εις το σωμα και την σαρκα και τον ανθρωπον καταχθηναι· ταυτ' εκ ελ' επεσκιασμενως, αλλ' ανικρυς ηδη γυμνη τη κεφαλη, μεταπεφρασμενα εκ της Βαρβαρε θεολογιας, δηλα- αν ειχ.

world. St. John also is witnessed by a Heathen, and by one who put him down for a Barbarian, to have represented the Logos as THE MAKER OF ALL THINGS, as WITH GOD, and as GOD; as one likewise, “*in whom* the created living Thing,” or the human soul of our Saviour, “and” even “Life and “Existence” themselves, those primogenial principles of Deity, “*had a birth, and fell into a body,* “and *putting on flesh appeared a man,*” who was therefore man and God in one; who accordingly “showed the greatness of his nature” by his miracles, was “wholly dissolved,” and then “was “*again* DEIFIED and IS GOD,” even “SUCH AS HE “*was,* before he was *brought down into the body and “the flesh and a man.*” And St. John is attested to have declared this, “not even as *shaded over,* but “on the contrary as *placed in full view.*” We have thus a testimony to *the plain meaning* of St. John, and to the *evident Godhead* of his Logos, a *Godhead* equally *before* and *after* his death; most unquestionable in its nature, very early in its age, and peculiarly forcible in its import. St. John, we see, is referred to in a language, that shows him to have been well known to the Grecian cotemporaries of Amelius, as a writer, as a foreigner, and as a marked assertor of *Divinity* for his Logos^u.

— III. —

^u We have also another attestation from a Heathen and from an enemy, even from one who is generally the bitterest of all enemies,
an

— III. —

The conduct of Philo on this point, was at once similar to St. John's, and different from it. He chose

an apostate from Christianity; to the divinity of our Saviour being positively asserted by St. John. In Cyrill, viii. p. 262. Spanheim, Julian is introduced citing three passages out of Deuteronomy for the unity of the Godhead, and contrasting them with the words of St. John above: μαρτυρημενος Ιωαννην λεγούτα, Εν αρχη ην ο λογος κ. λ. λ. "How
 " then," he remarks, " do these passages agree with those of Moses?"
 πως εν ομολογει ταυτα τοις Μωσεως. He next goes on to Isaias's prediction, " A virgin shall conceive, &c." " He says not," adds Julian, " God shall be born of the virgin," μητι θεον φησιν εκ της παρθενου τεχθησεσθαι: " yet ye cease not calling Mary the mother of
 " God," θεοτοκον δε υμεις ε παυεσθε Μαρταν καλευντες. " and this is said
 " by John, All things were made by him," &c. αλλα το λεγομενον υπο Ιωαννη, Παντα δι' αυτης εγενετο κ. λ. λ. In Cyrill also, x. p. 327, the same Emperor is introduced writing thus: " this Jesus then neither Paul dared to call God," τον γαρ Ιησυν ελε Παυλος εβολμησεν ειπεν θεον [though in p. 262 above he evidently refers to an expression of St. Paul's, and blames it as implying DIVINITY for Jesus, asking triumphantly if Isaias " calls him who was to be born of the Virgin, " the only-begotten Son of God," an expression of St. John's, " and
 " the first-born of every creature," an expression of St. Paul's; η μη φασι τον εκ της παρθενου γεννωμενον υιον θεου Μονογενη και Πρωτοτοκον πασης κτισεως]; " nor Matthew nor Luke nor Mark," ελε Ματθαιος ελε Λυκας ελε Μαρκος: " but the good John," αλλ' ο χρηστος Ιωαννης, " perceiving now a large multitude in many of the Grecian and Italian cities, seized with this disease" of Christianity, αισθομενος ηδη πολυ πληθος εαλωκος εν πολλαις των Ελληνιδων και Ιταλιωτιδων πολεων, υπο ταυτης της νοσου; " and hearing also, I think, of the [literary] monuments of Peter and Paul, which were kept secret indeed, but hearing of them as kept with care," ακων δε, οιμαι, και τα μνηματα Πιερου και Παυλου, λαθρα μιν, ακων δε θεραπευομενα [so inconsistent is Julian here with what he says immediately before and after, and so consist-

chose the philosophical term for the Logos, because it was philosophical. He chose it also, because it indicated

ent with what he intimates in p. 262 before]; “was the first who “dared to call him” GOD, *πρῶτος ἐλάβησεν εἰπεῖν*. In Facundus too iv. 2. p. 59. Paris. 1679, we have a letter of the same emperor and apostate, preserved in a wretched translation into Latin; and addressed to the same Photinus the heresiarch, whom he mentions in p. 262, as understanding St. John of somebody different from the Son of Mary. “You indeed, O Photinus,” he says to him in the letter, “seem likely for and very near to salvation, who do right in not placing him within the womb, whom you believed to be GOD;” “tu quidem, O Photine, verisimilis videris et proximus salvare [perhaps salvari], bene faciens nequaquam in utero inducere quem credidisti DEUM.” In this, no doubt, he particularly opposes St. John by the mention of Photinus, as he has done before. He then speaks of one Diodorus, as “Nazaræi magus,” and “acutus—sophista religionis agrestis,” as “the wise man of the Nazarene,” and “the acute sophist of a rustick religion.” He calls his Saviour “that new GOD of his, the Galilean, whom he fabulously preaches to be ETERNAL;” “illum novum ejus DEUM, Galilæum, quem ÆTERNUM fabulosè prædicat.” And this man, he tells us, had derived “his fictitious DEITY,” “confictæ a Diodoro DEITARIS,” from St. John he particularly means, but from the Apostles in general he says; thus again contradicting his grand position, that St. John was the first who dared to call our Saviour God, and again referring the ascribed Godhead of our Saviour, to St. John and other Apostles in conjunction. Diodorus, he says, “armed his hateful tongue against the celestial gods, being very ignorant of the mysteries of the pagans, and having wretchedly imbibed, as they report, all the error of his degenerate and unskilful theologues the Fishermen;” “odibilem adarmavit linguam adversus cœlestes Deos, usque adeo ignorans paganorum mysteria, omnemque miserabiliter imbibens, ut aiunt, degenerum et imperitorum ejus theologorum Piscatorum errorem.” We see apostates thus uniting with heretics, against the doctrine of St. John; but, in the very act of so doing,

indicated a spiritual relationship in the divine nature, by a reference to spirit. And he chose it too, because it gave such scope to the natural ingeniousness of his temper, and enabled him to wander so much over the fields of figure.

“ The animal life then,” says Philo, “ is shared
“ even by the irrationals,” τα αλογα; “ and the ra-
“ tional,” της δε λογικης, “ is not shared but caused
“ by God, the fountain of—the Logos^x.” Here he speaks of the Logos, as the personified, not personal, Reason of God; alluding to the secondary signification of the word *Logos*; taking in also the title which we shall see his Logos actually to bear, that of the Wisdom of God; and from both compounding a kind of middle idea, that esteems a *Word* to be the external image of *Reason*, and considers *Reason* as the internal *Word* of the *Mind*. Thus does he in the present passage, and in a variety of others,

doing, flying off from the hereticks, and acknowledging the plain import of that very language, which the hereticks would wire-draw into their own absurdities. A Julian joins hand in hand with an Amelius, to show against a Photinus and the whole fraternity of modern Photinians, that we understand St. John just as they understood him. And indeed this preface of St. John’s has proved such a powerful and irresistible weapon in the hands of orthodoxy, that some antient and modern Photinians have been obliged to take refuge from it, in that last effort of despair, that sullen and involuntary confession of indefensible absurdity; a denial of the authenticity of the whole.

^x P. 170. της μεν εν ζωικης μετεχει και τα αλογα, της δε λογικης ε μεταχει μεν, αρχει δε, ο θεος, η τε λογικη—πηγη.

enshrine his Logos behind such a veil of fancy and allegory; that we can scarcely discern his person in the sanctuary. In other passages, however, he draws aside the veil, and shows him to us in his full proportions.

He refers us to the *bodily* term of relationship, between these two Beings in the Godhead. This ascertains the personality at once; and therefore lays a foundation, for the superstructure of divinity. He who is distinct from God, may be a God himself. He may be, as St. John positively states him to be, “God with God.” “If yet indeed,” says Philo, “no one chances to be sufficiently worthy, of being “called the Son of God; endeavour to be ornamented, like his *first-begotten* Logos^y.” “There “are (it seems) two temples of God,” he adds; “one indeed this world, in which his *first-begotten* “the Divine Logos is also High-priest; and the “other the rational soul, &c^z.” “This world,” he tells us, “is the younger Son of God, as being a “sensible object; for he mentioned not *the Son* that “is older than this, and *he* is an intellectual Being; and *he*, considering himself as worthy of elder-ship, thought proper to abide with God him-

^y P. 341. καὶ μηδεπῶ μείλοι τυγχάνη τις αξιοχρεῶς ὡς ὁ υἱὸς θεοῦ προσαγορευέσθαι, σπεύδαζε κοσμεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸν πρωτογονοῦν αὐτῆς λόγον.

^z P. 597. Δύο γὰρ, ὡς εἰκέν, ἱερά θεῶ· ἐν μὲν οὐδὲ ὁ κόσμος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ πρωτογονοῦς αὐτῆς θεὸς λόγος· ἕτερον δὲ λογικὴ ψυχὴ κ.τ.λ.

“ self^a.” “ Him,” Philo further says, “ the Father of existence produced as *his eldest Son*, whom “ at other times he has named his *first-begotten*; and “ who indeed on being generated, in imitation of “ his Father’s ways, and looking upon his archetypal patterns, molded forms^b.” And, to cite no more passages, God is said to have given an authority peculiarly high, to “ his right Logos his *first-begotten Son*^c.”

Nor let my reader startle, at any expressions seemingly foreign and strange, in these extracts from Philo. Such must be continually expected, in the exuberance of his allegorical refinements.

^a P. 298. Ο μὲν γὰρ κόσμος τέλει νεώτερος υἱὸς θεῶ, αἰε αἰσθητός ὢν· τὸν γὰρ πρεσβύτερον τέλει ἔθεν· εἶπε, νοήσας δ’ ἐκεῖνος· πρεσβύτων δ’ ἀξιώσας, παρ’ ἐαυτῷ καὶ ἀμεινέειν διήνοιχθη.

^b P. 329. τέλει μὲν γὰρ πρεσβυτάτον υἱὸν ὁ τῶν οὐλῶν ἀνέειλε πατήρ, ὃν ἐπερωθεὶ πρῶτογονον ὠνομάσατο· καὶ ὁ γεννηθεὶς μέντοι, μιμημένος τὰς τῷ πατρὶ οὐδὲς, πρὸς παραδειγματὰ ἀρχέτυπα ἐκείνῃς ὁλεπῶν, ἐμορφῶν εἶδη. So Methodius speaks of the Son of God, as a Second Person “ ornamenting the things already made, in imitation of the First; and this “ is the Son, the all-powerful and strong hand of the Father:” καὶ ἰακοσμήσαν καὶ ποικιλλήσαν, κατὰ μίμησιν τῆς προτέρας, τὰ ἤδη γεγενημένα· ἐστὶ δὲ ὁ υἱός, ὁ παντοδύναμος καὶ κραταιὰ χεὶρ τοῦ Πατρὸς (Bull, p. 148). And Gregory Nazianzen adds, that “ the Father indeed forms the “ stamps of the things themselves,” τῶν αὐτῶν πραγμάτων τὰς τυπὰς ἐνσημαίνει· αἰ μὲν Πατήρ; “ but the Logos finishes them, not servilely, “ not ignorantly, but with knowledge and with dignity, and (to “ speak more properly) like the Father,” ἐπίτελει δὲ ὁ λόγος, ὃ δαλίκως, εἴ αμαθῶς, ἀλλ’ ἐπιστήμονικως τε καὶ δεσποτικῶς, καὶ (οἰκειότερον εἰπεῖν) πατρικῶς (Ibid. Grabe’s Opera Bulli).

^c P. 195. τὸν ὀρθὸν αὐτῷ λόγον πρῶτογονον υἱόν.

But his general sentiments, are plainly those of his church at the moment. His manner of proposing them, shows this. He considers the existence of a Son of God, for instance, as a certain and acknowledged truth. He therefore does not anywhere *assert* his existence. And I have found it impossible to produce any passages from him, that barely affirmed the fact. He considers this Son of God, to be confessedly superiour to all created things, to have formed them originally, to be the manager of them now, and to be intimately present with God. He has therefore mentioned his existence, only as incidental to his power. And I have been compelled to anticipate my future remarks, by producing passages that note him, as the High-priest of the temple of the world to God the Father, as One abiding with God himself, and as One who created from the archetypes of God; while I meant merely to ascertain his being. I shall now go on, however, to show him in a still stronger irradiation of Philo's light, as the Maker and Manager of the creation, the dignified Representative of God to his creatures, and "very God of very God^d."

^d We read in the Targum of Jerusalem, Gen. iii. 22, "The Word of Jehovah said, Here *Adam*, whom I created, is the *only-begotten Son* in the world, as I am the *only-begotten Son* in the high Heaven" (Allix's Judgment, p. 268). Hence in Luke iii. 38, we have "*Adam*, which was the Son of God."

— IV. —

That the Logos was the acting existence in the original creation of all things, is affirmed in a variety of places by Philo. I shall produce several of them, that one ray may lend a brightness to another, and all may unite to dissipate the mist of metaphor upon them.

“ God as God foreseeing, that a fair imitation
 “ could never be made without a fair pattern; and
 “ that none of the sensible objects could be without
 “ defect, unless it was molded to an archetypal and
 “ intellectual idea; when he willed to fabricate this
 “ visible world, previously configured out of him-
 “ self the intellectual world; that, by using an un-
 “ bodied and most godlike pattern, he might work
 “ off the bodily world, the younger an image of
 “ the elder, to contain as many sorts of sensible ob-
 “ jects in it, as there were to be intellectual in the
 “ other: but the world composed from ideas, it is
 “ not lawful to say or to understand as in any
 “ place—: the world framed from ideas can have
 “ no other place, than the Divine Logos who set
 “ these things in order; for what other place could
 “ there be for his powers, which should be sufficient
 “ to receive and take in, I say not all, but any
 “ simple one of them? And he is the power which
 “ also made the world, having the True Good for

“ his fountain ^e.” “ That invifible and intellectual
 “ Being, the Divine Logos and the Logos of God,
 “ he [Mofes] calls the image of God; and the
 “ image of this image that intellectual light, which
 “ was made the image of the Divine Logos, who
 “ [in Genesis] has explained the generation of *it*:
 “ and *it* is a super-cœleftial ftar, the fountain of the
 “ fenfible ftars, which not improperly one may call
 “ Universal Light, from which the fun, and the
 “ moon, and the other wandering and unwandering
 “ ftars draw, according to the power of each, their
 “ proper splendours of that pure and unmixed light,
 “ which is darkened over when it begins to turn in
 “ the transformation, from intellectual to fenfible ^f.”

God

^e P. 3—4. Προλαβων γαρ ο θεος ατε θεος, οτι μιμημα καλον εκ αν ποτε
 γενοίτο καλη διχα παραδειγματος, εδε τι των αισθητων ανυπαίτιον, ο μη προς
 αρχέλυτον και νοήην ιδεαν απεικονισθη, βεληθεις τον ορήλον τέλοσι κοσμον
 δημιουργησαι, προεξέλυπε τον νοήον· ινα χρωμενος ασωματω και θεοειδεστω
 παραδειγματι, τον σωμαλικον απειργασήαι, πρεσβυτερη νεώτερον απεικονισμα,
 τοσαυτα περιεξοντα αισθητα γενη, οσαπερ εν εκεινω νοήα· τον δε εκ των ιδεων
 συνεστώτα κοσμον, εν τοπω τινη λεγειν η υπονοειν, ε θεμίον· — εδ' ο εκ των
 ιδεων κοσμος αλλον αν εχοι τοπον, η τον θεον λογον τον ταυτα διακοσμη-
 σαύτα· επει τις αν ειη των δυναμεων αυτη τοπος είερος, ος γενοί' αν ικανος,
 ε λεγω πασας, αλλα μιαν ακρατον ηήιην, δεξασθαι τε και χωρησαι. δυ-
 ναμις δε και η κοσμοποιητική, πηγην εχουσα το προς αληθειαν αγαθον.

^f P. 6. τον δε αορατον και νοήον, θεον λογον και θεω λογον, εικονα λε-
 γει θεω· και ταυτης εικονα το νοήον φως εκεινο, ο θεω λογω γεγοθεν εικων, τη
 διερμηνευσαίτος την γενεσιν αυτη. και εστιν υπερβαρυνος αστήρ, πηγη των
 αισθητων των αστέρων· ην εκ απο σκοπης καλεσθαιεν αν τις παναυγειαν, αφ' ης ο
 ηλιος και η σεληνη και οι αλλοι πλανήτες τε και απλανεις, αρυοίται καθ'
 εσον εκαστω δυναμις, τα πρεποντα φεγγη της αμιγους και καθαρας εκεινης
 αυγης.

God “ was willing, that the First Man should appear with beauty of the highest degree,” in his body: “ and that he was superexcellent in his soul, “ is evident; for it seems he used no other pattern of “ things in creation, for the formation of it, except “ only (as I have said) his own Logos:—but it is “ necessary, that the imitation of an all-beautiful “ pattern, should be all-beautiful; and the Logos “ of God is superiour even to beauty itself, whatever beauty there is in nature; and is not ornamented with beauty, but (if we may speak the “ truth) is himself the most becoming ornament of “ beauty ^ε.” “ Every man is related to the Divine “ Logos, in his understanding; being made the express image of the blessed Nature, or a particle “ of it, or a radiation from it ^h.” “ This created “ world is one, as the fabricator is one, who assimilated the work to himself in his unity, and used

αυτης, αμαυρωμενης οταν αρχηται τρεπεσθαι καλα την εκ νοησε προς αισθητον μεταβολην. This passage has been misunderstood, by some of our writers in defence of the Trinity; and the Logos has been confounded with his creature. See Bull, p. 14.

^ε P. 31—32. Βελομενος ως ενι μαλιστα καλλιστον οφθηναι τον πρωτον ανθρωπον· οτι δε και την ψυχην αριστος ην, φανερον· υδενι γαρ ειερω παραδειγματι των εν γενεσει, προς την καλασκευην αυτης, εοικε χρησασθαι, μονω δ', ως ειπον, τω εαυτη λογω. — αναγκη δε παγκαλε παραδειγματος παγκαλον ειναι μιμημα· θεος δε λογος, και αυτη καλλης (οπερ εστιν εν τη φυσει καλλος) αμεινων, η κοσμεμενος καλλει· κοσμος δ' αυλος ων, ει δει ταληθες ειπειν, εκπρεπετατος εκεινη.

^h P. 33. Πας ανθρωπος, καλα μεν την διανοιαν, ωκειωται θειω λογω, της μακαριας φυσεως εκμαγειον, η αποσπασμα, η απαυγασμα, γεγονως.

“ all

“ all his essence in the creation of the whole ⁱ.”
 Then speaking of the river which went out of Eden to water Paradise, he says: “ Generous virtue takes
 “ its beginning from *Eden*, the Wisdom of God;
 “ she joys and rejoices and delights, exulting in her
 “ only father, and glorying in her God—: the river
 “ is this generous goodness; it proceeds out of the
 “ Wisdom of God, and this is the Logos of God;
 “ for this generous virtue was made according to
 “ him ^k.” “ *Beseleel* then is interpreted God in a
 “ shadow: but the shadow of God is his Logos,
 “ whom he used as his instrument in making the
 “ world ^l.” “ By his Logos, God wrought out
 “ the universe ^m.” In one place he speaks of “ a
 “ double Logos, one indeed an archetype above us,
 “ and the other an imitation which abides among

ⁱ P. 39. Εἰς εἰν ὁ γενῆλος κόσμος τῆλος, ἐπεὶ καὶ εἰς ὁ δημιουργός, ἐξομοιωσας αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν μόνωσιν τὸ ἐργον, ὁ παση κατεχρησάτο τῇ ἑσῖα εἰς τὴν τῆ ὅλη γενεσιν.

^k P. 52. λαμβάνει μὲν ἐν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἡ γενικὴ ἀρετὴ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑδεμ, τῆς τῆ θεῶ σοφίας· ἡ χαιρεῖ καὶ γαννύται καὶ τρυφᾷ, ἐπὶ μόνῳ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῆς ἀγαλλομένη, καὶ σεμνυνομένη θεῷ. — πόλαμος ἡ γενικὴ εἰν ἀγαθότης· αὐτὴ ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ τῆς τῆ θεῶ σοφίας· ἡ δὲ εἰν ὁ θεῶ λογός· κατὰ γὰρ τῆλον πεποιτῆται ἡ γενικὴ ἀρετὴ. I render γενικὴ ἀρετὴ and γενικὴ ἀγαθότης, not (as it has been always rendered) *general*, but, as propriety requires, and as p. 93 and 1103 in γεννικώτατος demand, *generous* virtue and *generous* goodness. It thus carries the same import, as it has the same origin, with γενναῖος and γενναιωτάτος.

^l P. 78—79. Ἑρμηνεύεται ἐν Βεσελελ, ἐν σκιά ὁ θεός. σκία θεῶ δὲ ὁ λογός αὐτὴ εἰν, ὡ καθάπερ ὀργανῷ προσχρησάμενος ἐκὸς μοποιεῖ.

^m P. 131. τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὸ παν ἐργαζόμενος, καὶ κ. λ. λ.

“ us;

“ us; and Moses calls that above us, the image of
 “ God, and that with us, the stamp of the image;
 “ for God, he says, made man, not an image, but
 “ according to an imageⁿ.” And he finally notices
 “ the Saviour and merciful God, holding out as
 “ peculiar to the race of men, the very great gift of
 “ relationship to his Logos, by whom as an arche-
 “ type was formed the mind of man^o.”

Here we see the creation attributed at once, to the Son and to the Father. The Son is exhibited, as the operative Being in the work. Yet the act is referred to the Father. The Son is positively said, to be “ the Power which made the world,” and the “ Divine Logos who set these things in order.” But then the Father is with equal positiveness said, to have “ used the Son as his instrument in making “ the world.” And our own religion teaches us exactly the same doctrine: ascribing the creation, equally to the Son and to the Father; but asserting the Son in the operation, to have been merely instrumental to the Father. This is well known. Yet it may be proper to dwell briefly upon it, for the

ⁿ P. 512. Δυο λογες, ενα μεν αρχετυπον υπερ ημας, ετερον δε μιμημα, τον καθ' ημας υπαρχοντα. Καλει δε Μωσης τον μεν υπερ ημας, εικονα θεου, τον δε καθ' ημας, της εικονος εκμαγειον. Εποίησε γαρ, φησιν, ο θεος τον ανθρωπον, εκ εικονα, αλλα και' εικονα.

^o P. 936. Τη σωτηρος και ιλεω θεου, τω γενει των ανθρωπων εξαιρετον παρασχομενη μεγαλην δωρεαν, την προς τον αυτη λογον συγγενειαν, αφ' η καβαπερ αρχετυπου γεγονεν ο ανθρωπειος υιος.

fuller resolution of this seeming contradictoriness in Philo. There is a passage of Scripture, that has never yet been referred to the Son, but that plainly points at him in my opinion, and ascribes the creation to him as the Logos. "This they willingly
 "are ignorant of," says St. Peter of such kind of scoffers, as our own experience too sadly exhibits to us; "that by *the word of God* the heavens were of
 "old, and the earth standing out of the water and
 "in the water^p." "To us," we are told by St. Paul, "there is but one God, the Father, *of* whom
 "are all things, and we in [*to*] him; and one Lord
 "Jesus Christ, *by* whom are all things, and we *by*
 "him^q." And, as St. Paul further assures us,
 "God, who at sundry times, and in divers man-
 "ners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the
 "prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us
 "by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all
 "things, *by* whom also *he* made the worlds^r." And as the dignity of divinity in the Son, is strikingly sustained in the personal act of creation; so the majesty of divinity in the Father, is carefully supported in making the Father, to be the creator by the instrumentality of the Son.

Accordingly, Philo says a number of magnificent things concerning the Logos or Son, as in the act

^p 2 Peter iii. 5. τῷ τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ.

^q 1 Cor. viii. 6. εἰς αὐτόν.

^r Heb. i. 1—3.

of exerting his creative Divinity on the universe. "The world composed from ideas" by the Father, he tells us, "*it is not lawful to say or to understand, as in any place.*" "The world framed from ideas," he adds, "*can have no other place, than the divine Logos—; for what other place could there be for his powers, which should be sufficient to receive and take in, I say not all, but any simple one of them?*" And "he is the Power, which also made the world." The Logos therefore is held out to us, as a Being uncircumscribed in space, and commensurate in extension with infinitude. But the reason assigned for this, gives additional energy to the intimation. He is represented to have a comprehensiveness of capacity, sufficient to take in the creative power of the Father. He is spoken of as the only Being in the universe, capable of this. And this sufficiently proves him to be, uncircumscribed in place; a Being capable of containing the creative power of God, being undoubtedly God himself; commensurate with him and with infinitude, in general attributes, and in particular creativeness.

But Philo adds in the same strain of philosophizing, upon this double personality of God; that the Logos or Son is "an image" of God, and, as such, is "all-beautiful," is "superiour even to beauty itself, whatever beauty there is in nature," and "is not ornamented with beauty, but (if he may speak the truth) is himself the most becoming ornament

“ nament of beauty.” Philo thus labours to blazon forth the glory of the Son of God, till he has actually darkened it. But then, like the Father himself, the Son only becomes

Dark from excessive bright.

And the words very strongly remind us, of the correspondent words of St. Paul; that the Son of God “ is the brightness of his glory, and the express “ image of his person^s;” and very forcibly suggest to us, that *therefore* he is so capable of taking in the divinity of the Father, as to retain the very image of his person, and to reflect the very beauty of his glory.

Thus invested with the brightness, and thus armed with the power, of the Godhead; the Son came forth (in Philo’s and the Jewish belief) to create the world. He was “ the intellectual world,” which the Father “ configured *out of himself*.” He was, therefore, of the very essence of the Father; and might well be sufficient, to take in the powers of the Father, to retain his image, and to reflect his glory.

From the “ intellectual objects” within himself, which were as numerous as the “ sensible objects” intended to be in the universe; using himself as “ an archetype,” and so “ using an unbodied and

^s Heb. i. 2.

“ most

“ most godlike pattern;” he “ worked off the bodily world.” Thus did “ the younger” world become “ an image of the elder.” Particularly “ that intellectual light,” that “ super-cœlestial star,” which is “ the fountain of the sensible stars,” and from which “ the sun, and the moon, and the other wandering and unwandering stars, draw their splendours;” this elegant creation of Philo’s fine fancies, which he represents to be “ Universal Light,” “ pure and unmixed” in itself; “ which is darkened over, when it begins to turn in the transformation, from intellectual to sensible” light; and which is therefore placed in a kind of middle state betwixt sensible and intellectual objects, bright and intellectual in itself, but darkening as it mixes with matter, a kind of lucid screen between matter and spirit: this first received, as most congenial for the reception, “ the image of the divine Logos” upon it^t.

The next, that received this reflected image of the Godhead, was “ the soul” of man. Accordingly Philo speaks of “ the Saviour and merciful God, holding out as peculiar to the race of men, the very great gift of *relationship* to his Logos; by whom, as an archetype, was formed the mind of

^t So Clemens Alexandrinus, p. 78, Potter, speaks of ο θειος λογος, φως αρχετυπον φως, “ the divine Logos, light the archetype of light.”

“ man.”

“man.” He tells us also, that “every man is
 “*related* to the divine Logos, in his understanding;
 “being made the express image” of him. He adds
 however what is very striking, that man is thus
 made “the express image,” not merely of the Lo-
 gos, but of what? “of THE BLESSED NATURE.”
 Nor does he mean this, only of man’s becoming an
 image of Him, who is an image of God. He in-
 stantly shows he has a higher view. He says, that
 man is either “an image, or a *particle*, or a *radia-*
 “*tion*, of the blessed Nature.” The Logos, being
 “all-beautiful” in himself, when he “formed the
 “mind of man” from “himself as an archetype,”
 necessarily made the mind “a radiation,” or “a
 “particle,” or “an image,” of that “blessed Na-
 “ture;” “out of which he had been configured”
 himself, and of which he was sufficient to receive
 and take in the creative power. The essence of Di-
 vinity in this Creator, enabled him to impart a kind of
 Divinity, to so spiritual a creature as the soul of man;
 to make it a “radiation” from the great Sun of the
 universe, a “particle” from the mighty Mind of the
 heavens, and an “image” of the glory of the God-
 head^u.

As such, the Logos is properly styled by Philo,

^u Clemens Alexandrinus, p. 78, says similarly, that “the Logos
 “of God is the image of him;—and the image of the Logos is the
 “true man, the mind in man:” *ἡ μὲν γὰρ τῆ θεᾶς εἰκὼν, ὁ λόγος αὐτῆς*
—εἰκὼν δὲ τῆς λογῆς, ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἀληθινός, ὁ νῦν ὁ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ.

“the

“ the Shadow of God ;” that is, the substance of God, represented in a secondary form. Yet this shadow is as substantial, as the Godhead itself; the Logos being absolutely what our Saviour has represented himself before to be, “ the Wisdom of God ;” and being as necessary to the Father, as wisdom itself to the Godhead^x. Nor is “ generous goodness” on earth, any thing more than the stamp or character of the Logos ; “ being made according to “ *him*,” and “ proceeding out of *him*,” as “ the “ Wisdom of God ;” wisdom and goodness being (as it were) incorporated in the Logos, and substantiated in the Father. And, to crown all, while the Logos has been affirmed to have “ made the world,” and to have “ formed the mind of man” from

^x The Jews in their writings “ attribute to the *God absconded*,” God the Father, “ to have acted in the creation by his *Wisdom* and by “ his *Understanding* [the Logos and the Holy Ghost]. R. Menach. fol. 1. from Bereschit Rabba.—They say that this *Wisdom* is called “ *the Beginning*, although she is but the second *Sephirah*” (Allix’s Judgment, p. 164). Indeed the name of *Wisdom* for the Logos was so common among the Jews, that the Jerusalem Targum on Gen. i. 1, instead of translating *Bereshit* as a mark of time, *in the beginning*; and by taking it personally to mean the Logos, as the Beginning or Cause of all creation; rendered the clause thus, “ *By the “ Wisdom* God created the heaven and the earth.” And the author plainly shows, whom he meant by *the Wisdom*; “ saying elsewhere, “ ver. 27, The λογος or the Word of the Lord created man after his “ image” (Allix, p. 131, 162, and 127—128). Onkelos also has rendered the word by “ *Bekadmin*, which signifies the Ancient or “ the First; which is the title they give to Wisdom, according to the “ same place of Solomon.” See also the Fathers to the same purpose, in Bull, p. 149 and 185.

“ himself as an archetype ;” while the Father has been also said to have used the Logos, as “ an un-
 “ bodied and most godlike pattern,” in framing the universe ; and while both are thus said to have molded all nature, into a likeness with the Logos : Philo very consistently and very appositely asserts, that “ this created world is one, as the fabricator is
 “ one ; who assimilated the work to *himself* in his
 “ *unity*, and used *all his essence* in the creation of the
 “ whole.” So completely united are the Father and the Son, that what is done by the Son, is equally done by the Father ; that what is assimilated to the Father, is also assimilated to the Son ; that they have an unity of essence, between them ; and that either used all the essence of the other, in the creation of the world^y.

— V. —

Having shown the faith of Philo in this leading point of all, I shall now proceed to show it in another point. He, who was the operating Creator of the world, is equally the acting Manager of it at

^y For a full explanation of those only un-explained words, “ when
 “ he willed to fabricate this visible world, [he] previously configured
 “ rated” &c. ; see Section VIth hereafter. “ Jonathan on Is. xlv.
 “ 12, declares his opinion, that *the Word* created the *earth* ; and again
 “ on Isa. xlviii. 13. Thus Onkelos assures, that the *heavens* were
 “ made by *the Word* of the Lord, on Deut. xxxiii. 27. And he al-
 “ most constantly distinguishes the λογος, as another person from the
 “ father” (Allix’s Judgment, p. 126).

present.

present. He presides as a Sovereign over his own universe. He officiates as a High-priest in his own temple. Such at least was the belief of Philo and the Jews. Such also is the belief, of the Apostles and of us Christians. And I shall thus prove the principles of Jewish theology, to have been equally Christian in this consecutive article of faith; as I have proved them to have been, in the primary one before.

“ Is not the Logos of God,” asks Philo, “ similar also to the pupil in the eye? For as this, though only a very small part, beholds the whole zones of existence, and the unbounded sea, and the expanse of the air, and as much of all the heaven as the rising and the setting sun terminates; so likewise the divine Logos is very sharp-sighted, even to be a Being sufficient for the inspection of all things².” Philo thus gives to the Logos that fundamental faculty of controul over the universe, the power of inspection. The globe lies all under the ken of his sharp eye. He is “ a Being sufficient for the inspection of all things.” And “ the Word of God,” says St. Paul with a remarkable similarity concerning *this very Logos*, “ is quick

² P. 92. Ο θεος λογος—μηποτε—ομοιωται και τη καλια τον οφθαλμω κορη; ως γαρ αυτη, βραχυτατον εσα μέρος, τας των ολων ορα ζωνας ολας, και θαλατταν απειρον, και αερος μεγαθος, και τα παντος ερανθ οσον αναλειλων και δυομενος ο ηλιος οριζει· εγω και ο θειος λογος εξυδερκετατος εστιν, ως παντα εφοραν εντω ικανος.

“ and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged
 “ sword; piercing even to the dividing asunder of
 “ soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow;
 “ and is A DISCERNER OF THE THOUGHTS AND IN-
 “ TENTS OF THE HEART; neither is there ANY
 “ CREATURE, THAT IS NOT MANIFEST IN HIS SIGHT;
 “ but ALL THINGS ARE NAKED AND OPENED UNTO
 “ THE EYES OF HIM, WITH WHOM WE HAVE TO
 “ do^a.”

Man in misfortunes, as Philo tells us, “ throws
 “ the whole blame upon what are the causes of no
 “ evil, Agriculture, Traffic, or the other Employ-
 “ ments, which he thought proper to use for the
 “ procurement of money. But these, though never
 “ partaking of the organs of speech, will by the
 “ very facts break out into a voice, more powerful
 “ than that by the tongue. “ Are not we then,
 “ O calumniator,” they will say, “ those very
 “ things on which thou rodest in lofty pride, as on
 “ beasts of burden? Have we, with insolence in
 “ return, wrought out calamity for thee? Behold
 “ him who stood opposed to thee, the armed
 “ Logos of God; to whom it is given to fix the
 “ bounds of well and ill. Seest thou not this?
 “ Why therefore dost thou now blame us; whom

^a Heb. iv. 12—13. Ζων γὰρ ὁ λόγος τῆ θεῶ, καὶ ἐνεργῆς, κ. ἴ. λ.
 So Philo, p. 500, speaks of “ God having sharpened his Logos, who
 “ can cut through all things;” ὁ θεὸς ἀκονησαμένος τὸν τόμα τῶν
 συμπαντῶν ἀντὶ λόγον.

“ thou

“ thou didst not censure before, when thy affairs
 “ went well? For we are the same, being noways
 “ altered from our own nature, in the smallest
 “ point at all. But thou, using judgments that are
 “ unsound, art unreasonably agitated. For if thou
 “ hadst learned from the beginning, that, even
 “ though thou hadst an employment, this is not
 “ the cause of thy participating in good or evil;
 “ but that He is, who is the rudder-holder and
 “ governor of the universe, the Divine Logos:
 “ thou hadst more easily borne what has befallen
 “ thee, ceasing to calumniate us, and to ascribe to
 “ us what we could not do ^b.” Here we mount
 a step higher, in the scale of the Jewish faith. We
 see the Inspector of the universe, exalted into the
 Controuler of it. The Logos we behold seated at
 the helm of the world, and steering it as he thinks
 proper. He thus stands forth the mighty Governor

^b P. 113—114. Τα δ' υδενος αιδια κακη τοπαραπαν αιδιαλαι, την
 Γεωργιαν, την Εμποριαν, τας αλλας Επιηδευσεις, αις προς αργυρισμον
 ηξιη χρησθαι· αι δε, και τοι φωνητηριων οργανων αμοιρυσαι, την δι' αυτων
 των πραγματων ρηξυσι φωνην, εναργεστεραν εσαν της δια γλωττης· Αραγε,
 ω συκοφαντα, υχ' ημεις εσμεν εκειναι (λεγεσθαι), αις καθαπερ υποζυγιοις
 υψαυχενων επεβεδηκεις; μη καθ' υπεροψιαν αλλως ειργασμεθα σοι κακο-
 πραγιαν; ιδε τον ανθεστωτα εξεναντιας, θεω λογον ενωπλισμενον, παρ' ον το τε
 ευ και το μη συμβεβηκε τελεισθαι. υχ' ορας; τι εν νυν αιδια ημας, προ-
 τερων, οτε ευωδει σοι τα πραγματα, υχι μεμψαμενος· ημεν γαρ αι αυται,
 μηδεν της εαυτων φυσεως μελαβαλυσαι το παραπαν σιγμη· συ δε κριτηριοις
 χρωμενος υχ' υγιεσιν, αλογως σφαδαζεις. Ει γαρ εξ αρχης εμαθες, οτι
 υχ' ατ' αν επιηδευης αγαθων μελεσιας η κακων εστιν αιδια, αλλ' ο πηδα-
 λιεχος και κυβερνητης τε παντος, λογος θειος, ραον αν εφερεις τα συμπιπ-
 λωτα, παυσαμενος τε συκοφαντειν και επιγραφειν ημιν α μη δυναμεθα.

of the creation. Prosperity and adversity are both under the guidance of his hand. He prescribes them their movements. He assigns them their limits. And to the unfortunate he rises (as it were) from his throne over the creation, comes forth with his weapons of punishment, and stands opposed as an antagonist to them.

“ God,” Philo adds in another place, “ as a
 “ Shepherd and a King, by right and law leads, as
 “ it were a certain flock, the earth, and water, and
 “ air, and fire, and whatever is planted or lives in
 “ them, some mortal and some divine; and also the
 “ nature of heaven, and the periods of the sun and
 “ moon, and the harmonious turns and dances of
 “ the other stars; having set over the whole his
 “ First-begotten Son, the right Logos; who will
 “ accept the charge of this sacred herd, as in some
 “ measure the Governor under a Great King^c.”

Here, as in the creation before, the majesty of Divinity in the Father is secured, by referring the *authority* to *him*. But then, as before, the dignity of Divinity in the Son is equally secured, by attributing the *exercise* of this authority to *him*. The

^c P. 195. Καθαπερ γαρ τινα ποιμνην, γην και υδωρ και αερα και πυρ, και οσα εν τούτοις φυλα τε αυ και ζωα, τα μεν θνητα τα δε θεια· ελι δε θρανυ φυσιν, και ηλιε και σεληνης περιοδου, και των αλλων αστερων τροπας τε αυ και χορειας εναρμονιουσ, ως ποιμην και βασιλευς ο θεος αγει καλα δικην και νομον, προσησαμενος τον ορθον αυτε λογον πρωτογονον υιον, ος την επιμελειαν της ιερας ταυτης αγελης, οια τι μεγαλη βασιλεως υπαρχος, διαδεξεται.

Son has been previously noticed by Philo, as the only Inspector, and the only Controuler, of the affairs of men. And if he is here noticed, for the Governor under the Father; he is noticed to be as much the actual Governor of the universe, as he previously was to be the actual Creator of it.

“ Examine,” says Philo in a just strain of religious thoughtfulness, “ the changes of whole countries and nations, to better and to worse. Greece was formerly in the vigor of youth, but the Macedonians robbed it of its strength. Macedonia then flourished; but, being broken into parts, decayed till it utterly withered away. Before the Macedonians, the Persians were in prosperity; but one day destroyed their large and mighty kingdom. And now the Parthians, who were then subject to the Persians, rule over *them* who a little while ago were their governors. Egypt formerly looked illustrious and very stately; but her great happiness has passed away, like a cloud. What are the Ethiopians? What is also Carthage and the power of Libya? And what are the kings of Pontus, what is Europe and Asia, and (to speak briefly) all the globe? Is it not agitated up and down, and vibrated about, as a ship at sea; and has now prosperous, and now adverse, gales? For the Divine Logos, whom the many of mankind denominate Fortune, leads the dances in a circle. Then, passing at

“ his ease through cities, and nations, and coun-
 “ tries, he distributes the possessions of these to
 “ those, and of all to all; which only vary in the
 “ times themselves to each: *so that* the whole world
 “ is as one city, which exhibits the best of all de-
 “ mocratic policies^d.” We here see the Logos
 again exalted, into that supremacy of Godhead
 over the affairs of the world; which the ignorance
 of Heathenism attributed to fortune; which the
tongues of Christians, continuing a language contra-
 dictory to their *sentiments*, still attribute to the same
 blind deity; and which Christianity attributes, with
 Philo and his cotemporaries, to the presiding Son
 of God. The Logos is thus the PROVIDENCE of
 God. The rises and the falls of cities, kingdoms,
 and empires; all that has marked the public

^d P. 318. [Εξείλαζε] τὰς χωρῶν ὅλων καὶ ἐθνῶν πρὸς τὸ εὖ καὶ χεῖρον
 μέλαθρολας· ἠκμασε πόλις ἡ Ἑλλάς, ἀλλὰ Μακεδόνες αὐτῆς τὴν ἰσχύιν ἀφεί-
 λοντο· Μακεδόνια πάλιν ἠνθῆσεν, ἀλλὰ, διαιρεῖσθαι κατὰ μοίρας, ἡσ-
 θενῆσεν ἕως εἰς τὸ πανίελες ἐπεσβεσθῆ. Πρὸ Μακεδόνων τὰ Περσῶν ἐν εὐ-
 τυχίᾳ ἦν· ἀλλὰ μίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ τὴν πολλὴν καὶ μεγάλην βασιλείαν αὐτῶν καθείλε.
 Καὶ νῦν Παρθυνοὶ Περσῶν, τῶν πρὸ μικρῆς ἡγεμονῶν, επικράτησιν, οἱ τότε
 ὑπηκοοὶ. Ἐπνευσε πόλιν λαμπρὴν καὶ ἐπιμηκίσον Αἰγυπτός, ἀλλ’ ὡς νεφὸς
 αὐτῆς ἡ μεγάλη παρήλθεν εὐπραγία. Τί δ’ Αἰθιοπες; τί δὲ καὶ Καρχηδῶν,
 καὶ τὰ πρὸς Λιβύην; τί δὲ οἱ Ποῖναι βασιλεῖς; τί δ’ Ἑυρώπη καὶ Ἀσία, καὶ
 (συνελούη φρασταί) πᾶσα ἡ οἰκῆμενη; ἢ ἀνω καὶ κατω κλονέμενη καὶ τι-
 νασσομένη, ὥσπερ ναὺς θαλαττεύουσα, τότε μὲν δεξιοῖς τότε δὲ καὶ ἐναντιοῖς
 πνεύμασι χρήλαι; χορεύει γὰρ ἐν κυκλῷ λόγος ὁ θεὸς, οὐ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀν-
 θρώπων ὀνομαζέσθαι τύχην· εἶλα αἰεὶ ῥεῶν καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη καὶ χώρας, τὰ
 ἄλλων ἄλλοις καὶ πᾶσι τὰ πάντων ἐπινεμεί, χρόνος αὐτῆς μόνον ἀλλατ-
 τούτα παρ’ ἑκάστοις· ἵνα ὡς μία πόλις ἡ οἰκῆμενη πᾶσα τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν
 ἀγῇ δημοκρατίαν.

fortunes

fortunes of man, with many and awful revolutions,
and

. billowed high

With human agitation,

the public history of man; result from the controuling superintendence, of this God at the pole of the universe. He there, with his strong hand, turns the globe as he pleases. Now one side is uppermost, and now another; as he sees will be best, for his general plans of wisdom. And he makes his sun of prosperity, to shine upon this side; then to resign it up again, to the darkness of adversity; and so to pass and illumine another: just as easily, just almost as regularly, and only not in so short intervals of continuance, as he causes the returns of day and night. And "the whole world," under the ruling power of the Logos, "is as one city, which exhibits the best of all democratic policies." This doctrine indeed is strikingly curious in itself, and highly confirmatory of the imputed divinity of our Saviour. Yet I know not, that it is any where displayed in Scripture, so apparently as it is here. It is intimated, however. He who is represented (as we have already seen) to be the present Inspector, must be also the present Controuler, of the wild and tumultuous transactions of man, on the face of this globe. He also, who is described (as we shall instantly see) to be the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, must be the raiser of kingdoms from
the

the dust, and the reducer of them again to the dust from which they came. And as St. Paul requires Timothy, to keep a command which he had given him, “until the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, which in his time *he* shall shew, who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords;” so the angel saith to St. John in the Revelations, concerning princes opposed to Christianity, “the Lamb shall overcome them, *for* he is Lord of Lords, and King of Kings^e.”

But let us now go from his inspection and controul of nature, to his support of it. “The Logos of He Who Is,” as Philo tells us, “being the bond of all things, both keeps all the parts together, and constringes them, and forbids them to be loosened or disjoined^f.” Philo also bids us “say with boldness, that there is no matter so hard, as to be able to bear the burden of the world: but the Logos is the very strong and very

^e 1 Tim. vi. 14—15. and Rev. xvii. 14. See also Rev. xix. for one who “is called the *word* of God,” and “hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS” (13 and 16); and Philo, p. 398. for the Logos being the *helm* of the universe. The Jews in their writings maintain, that it is the Shekinah or Wisdom [that is, the Logos] which *rules the world*, according to Solomon’s words, “Prov. viii. R. Men. fol. 35. col. 1” (Allix’s Judgment, p. 164).

^f P. 466. Ο τε γαρ τε αἰλος λογος, δεσμος ων των παντων—, και συ-
νεχει τα μέρη παντα, και σφιγγει, και κωλυει αυτα διαλυεσθαι και διαρ-
τασθαι.

“firm

“ firm support of the universe. He, reaching
 “ from the middle to the ends, and from the sum-
 “ mit to the middle, runs the long unconquered
 “ course of nature, constraining and constringing
 “ all the parts together. For the Father, who be-
 “ gat him, made him the unspeakable bond of all.
 “ Well then may not all the land be dissolved away
 “ into all the water, which its bays have taken in;
 “ nor may the fire be extinguished by the air, nor
 “ again may the air be set in flame by the fire; the
 “ Divine Logos placing himself, as a vocal boundary
 “ to the un-vocal elements: so that the whole shall
 “ harmonize together, as in a musical scale;
 “ which mediates between the threats of the con-
 “ trary principles, and by its melodious persuasive-
 “ nefs conciliates them^s.” We thus see the Logos
 described, with all the energies of the Godhead on
 his arm. The vast frame of the universe rests and
 gravitates upon him, as the central pillar of it.
 The principle of adhesion, which pervades the parts,

^s Eusebius's Prepar. Evang. p. 190. Λεγέτω μέλα παρρησίας, ὅτι ἔθεν
 των ἐνυλων κράταιον ἔλως, ὡς τον κοσμον ἀχθοφορεῖν ἰσχυσαι. Λογος δε
 —το οχυρωτάτον καὶ βεβαιωτάτον εἶσμα των ὁλων ἐστιν. Τέλος ἀπο των
 μεσων ἐπὶ τὰ περὶ αἶα, καὶ ἀπο των ἀκρων ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα, ταθεῖς, δολιχενεῖ τον
 φυσεως ἀητήτητον δρομον, συναγων τὰ μερὴ παντα καὶ συσφιγγων. Δεσμον
 γὰρ αὐτον ἀρρήτην τὴ παντός, ο γεννησας ἐποιεῖ πατήρ. Εἰκότως ἐν ἡδε γη
 πασα διαλυθησέται πρὸς παντός ὑδατός, ὡπερ αὐτῆς οἱ κολποὶ κεχωρηκασιν.
 ἢ ὑπο αἰερος σβεσθησέται πυρ, ἢ ἐμπαλιν ὑπο πυρος αὐρ ἀναφλεγθησέται,
 τὰ θεῖα λογὸς μεθοριον ταττοντος αὐτον φωνηεν, σιτοιχειων ἀφωνων. ἵνα το ὁλον,
 ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐγγραμμῆς μουσικῆς, συνηχησῇ, τὰς των ἐναντίων ἀπειλας
 πειθῇ τῇ συνοδῷ μεσιλευοντος τε καὶ διαίτωντος.

and

and binds them into a whole, is nothing more than the application of his plastick hand to them. Or (to borrow an image from Heathenism, the grandest which it ever conceived of the Godhead) the whole world hangs in a golden chain before him, the links of it being lapped round the sides of the creation, and the ends being hooked to the feet of his throne. This evidence of the divinity of our Saviour, is carefully *continued* in our Scriptures; our Saviour being there declared, to be “upholding all things “by the word of his power,” and to be He “by “whom all things consist^h.” And that this awful truth is only *insinuated* in our Scripture, and yet is dwelt upon *circumstantially* in Philo; is a fuller and firmer proof of the conviction of the Jews, in the positive divinity of their Logos.

— VI. —

BUT let us now observe the high pre-eminence of titles, which the Jewish theology attributed to its Logos. These of course must be correspondent, to the exalted honours which it has conferred upon him. The stream must receive a tincture from the fountain. And these titles will naturally be accommodated; as to the creative, the inspecting, the controuling, and the supporting efficacy of his power; so likewise to the derivative quality of his

^h Heb. i. 3, and Coloss. i. 17.

divinity, and to the official subordination of his character.

“ Endeavour to be adorned,” says Philo in the same tenor of exhortation, which calls upon us in the Scriptures to assimilate ourselves to the Son of God, “ according to his First-begotten Logos, “ the most ancient Angel, who exists as the Arch- “ angel of Many Names: for he is denominated the “ Principle, and the Name of God, and the Logos: “ —if we are not yet worthy to be reckoned sons “ of God, still we are of his image, the most holy “ Logos; for the most ancient Logos is the image “ of Godⁱ.” This elevates our Saviour into a wonderful rank in the universe, as “ the Most Antient” of angels, as “ the Archangel of Many Names,” as “ the Principle” of existence to the creation, as the “ Most Holy,” the “ Name” and the “ Image” of God. We can hardly mount beyond this. There is scarcely any discernible interval, between this and God. But Philo is still more explicit. In other places he speaks of “ the Logos of God,” as “ above all “ the world, and the most ancient and most noble “ of the things that have been made^k ;” and ac-

ⁱ P. 341. Σπειδαζε κοσμεισθαι κατὰ τον πρωτογονον αυτην λογον, τον αγγελον πρεσβυτατον, ως αρχαγγελον πολυνυμον υπαρχοντα. και γαρ Αρχη, και Ονομα, και λογος—προσαγορευεται.—Ει μηπω ικανοι θεω παιδες νομιζεσθαι γεγοταμεν, αλλα τοι της—εικονος αυτην, λογον τη ιερω- τατη. Θεω γαρ εικων, λογος ο πρεσβυτατος.

^k P. 93. Ο λογος δε τη θεω, υπερανω παντος εστιν τη κοσμου, και πρεσ- βυτατος και γεννηκωτατος των οσα γεγονε.

tually

tually describes the “Logos,” as “he who is *older* “*than* the things which have received creation¹.” The last clause shews Philo, when he speaks before of the Logos, as the *most* ancient of created things; to mean one *more* ancient than they. Here, therefore, we not only attend our Saviour up the great scale of creation to the topmost round of it; but also pass with him through the infinite altitude beyond it, and push up to the very height of the Creator, and the very mount of God.

But, what is singular, this mighty Being is exhibited to us also, in the Christian character of *Mediator* for man. “To the Archangel, and most “ancient Logos, the Father who created the universe has given the peculiar grant; that he should “stand as a bounding line, to distinguish that “which was made from him who formed it. And “he is the continual supPLICATOR for the perishing “mortal to the Immortal, and the ambassador of “the Sovereign to the subject. And he exults in “the grant, and glorying explains it, saying, “And “I stood betwixt the Lord and you, neither “un- “begotten as the existing God, nor made as you, “but the middle of the extremes, an hostage to

¹ P. 389. Ο λογος ο πρεσβυτερος των γενεσιν ειληφοτων. So Origen's account of our Saviour in his reply to Celsus, p. 257, “πρεσβυτατον “γαρ αυτον παντων των δημιουργηματων ισασι αι θειοι λογοι;” is properly translated thus, “novit enim hunc sacra scriptura creaturis omnibus vetustiore” (Bull, p. 173).

“ both:

“ both : to him who planted you, to assure you he
 “ will not ever destroy or desert your whole race,
 “ and introduce disorder in the room of order;
 “ and to you plants, for your happy hope, that
 “ the benevolent God will never overlook his
 “ own work. For I will be the proclaimer of
 “ peace to the creature, from that God who is
 “ always the guardian of peace, and knows how
 “ to take away wars ^m.” Here we have the top-
 stone (as it were) laid to the fabrick of the crea-
 tion, and the Logos standing erect above it. He
 is discriminated in the most express manner from
 the creatures; and he appears as a Mediator be-
 twixt the Father and them. Being neither “ unbegot-
 “ ten” as the Father, nor “ made” as the creatures,
 he shares a kind of middle nature, and is essentially
 qualified for the office of Mediator. In this office all
 his grandeur is softened and tempered down, by his
 still superior amiableness. He comes forward, exactly

^m P. 509. Τῷ δὲ ἀρχαγγέλῳ καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ λόγῳ δώσαν ἐξαιρέτων
 ἐδωκεν ὁ τὰ ὅλα γεννησας πατήρ, ἵνα μεθοριος γας, τὸ γενομενον διακριτῇ
 τῇ πεποιηκότος. ὁ δ' αὖτος ἐκείνης μεν ἐστὶ τῇ θνήσκῃ κηραίνοντος αἰεὶ πρὸς τὸ
 ἀφθαρτον, πρεσβεύτης [πρεσβεύτης] δὲ τῇ ηγεμονος πρὸς τὸ ὑπῆκοον.
 ἀγαλλεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ δώρεα, καὶ σεμνυνομενος αὐτὴν ἐκδηγεῖται, φασκων,
 Καγὼ εἰσήκειν ἀνα μέσον κυρία καὶ ὑμῶν, εἴτε ἀγεννήτος ὡς ὁ θεὸς ὢν, εἴτε
 γεννήτος ὡς ἡμεῖς [ὕμεις], ἀλλὰ μέσος τῶν ακρων, ἀμφοτέροισι ὁμηρεῶν·
 παρὰ μὲν τῷ φύλευσαντι, πρὸς πίστιν τῇ μὴ συμπαῖν ἀφανισαὶ πόλε καὶ
 ἀποσῆναι τὸ γένος, ἀκοσμίαν ἀντὶ κόσμου ἐιλομενον· παρὰ δὲ τῷ φύντι,
 πρὸς εὐελπίσιαν τῇ μὴ πόλε τὸν ἰλεων θεὸν περιῦδειν τὸ ἴδιον ἔργον. Ἐγὼ γὰρ
 ἐπικηρυκευσομαι τὰ εἰρηναία γενέσκει, παρὰ τῇ καθαιρεῖν πολέμους ἐγνωκότος,
 εἰρηνοφυλάκος αἰεὶ, θεῷ.

like

like the ever-gracious Redeemer of the Christians, to supplicate the Immortal in favour of us mortals, and to intercede with our Heavenly Sovereign for us his subjects. And, like him too, he comes proclaiming “ peace to the creature, from that God “ who is always the guardian of peace, who knows “ how to take away wars,” and who had actually taken them all away, when the Prince of Peace appeared upon earth. This certainly carries a very close resemblance, to the historical reality. Yet it is such only, as shews the antecedent shade to be very like to the substance, in all its general proportions. The likenesses can hardly be improved, by other passages of Philo. But it is repeated; and every repetition serves to confirm the similarity. Philo accordingly speaks of “ the Mediator, the divine “ Logos, who exhorts us to the best things, and “ again and again teaches us as many, as are adapted to the timesⁿ ;” of “ the holy Logos, who to “ some, as a king, announces in a command what “ they ought to do, and to others, as a master to “ his scholars, suggests things for their profit^o ;” of “ the angel, who is the Logos, as the physician “ of diseases^p ;” and of “ those who honour the

ⁿ P. 575. Τῷ μεσῷ λόγω θείῳ τὰ ἀριστα ὑφηγημένῳ, καὶ ὅσα προσφορὰ τοῖς καιροῖς ἀναδιδασκοντὶ.

^o P. 593—594. Ὁ ἱερός λόγος, τοῖς μὲν ὡς βασιλεὺς, ἀχρὴ πράττειν ἐξ ἐπιταγμάτων παραγγέλλει· τοῖς δὲ, ὡς γνωρίμοις διδασκαλός, τὰ πρὸς ὠφελείαν ὑφηγεῖται.

^p P. 93. Τὸν δὲ ἀγγέλον, ὃς ἐστὶ λόγος, ὡς περ ἰατρὸν κακῶν.

“ right

“ right Logos as their one Father, admiring the
 “ well-harmonized and wholly musical symphony
 “ of virtues,” as “ living a calm and quiet life,
 “ not indeed one idle and inactive, as some think,
 “ but very manly, and much provoked against
 “ those who attempt to break in upon their la-
 “ bours^q.” All serves to fill up the great outline
 of *his* character; who, when he was the Lord of
 Nature, condescended to become the instructor of
 man, the healer of his maladies, and the fosterer of
 his virtues.

Nor is this all. We have even hints given us, of
 the *incarnation* of the Logos. “ How is it, good
 “ sirs, that ye will not grow weary indeed of war,
 “ and love peace; when ye belong to one and the
 “ same parent, who is not mortal but immortal,
 “ the man of God, who, being the Logos of the
 “ Eternal, is of necessity also himself incorruptible^r?”
 The Logos is equally called in another passage,
 “ the man after the image of God^s.” But perhaps
 some one “ will say,” Philo adds in another place,

^q P. 326. Ενα πατέρα τον ορθον τιμώντες λογον, την ευαρμοστον και
 παμμεστον συμφωνιαν αρίων τε θαυμακοτες, ευδιον και γαληνον βιον ζωσιν,
 & μεν αργον και αγεννη τινα, ως ενιοι νομιζουσιν, αλλα σφοδρα ανδρειον,
 και λιαν ηκουνημενον καλα των σπασδας λυειν επιχειρουσιν.

^r P. 326. Πως εκ εμελλεσε, — ω γενναιοι, πολεμω μεν δυσχεραινειν, ει-
 ρηνην δε αγαπαιν, ενα και τον αυτον επιγεγραμμενοι πατερα, & θνητον αλλ'
 αθανατον, ανθρωπον θεω, ως τε αιδις λογος ων, εξ αναγκης και αυτος εστιν
 αφθαρτος.

^s P. 341. Λογος — ο κατ' εικονα ανθρωπος — προσαγορευεται.

G

“ why

“ why then does he who hath believed any thing,
 “ admit a vestige, or a shade, or a moment, of un-
 “ belief at all? But he seems to me to mean no-
 “ thing else, than to prove the created one to be
 “ un-created, and the mortal one immortal, and
 “ the corruptible one incorruptible, and the man
 “ (if it is lawful to say so) God: for the faith, which
 “ man has got, he says ought to be so firm, as to
 “ differ in nothing from the faith in a reality, that
 “ is perfect and entire in every part^t.” And these
 passages carry so clear an allusion to that wonderful
 circumstance, which the Jews of our Saviour’s days
 (as we have seen before) fully expected, and which
 the Christians of our own (as we all know) firmly
 believe, to be realized in the person of *their* Messiah
 and *our* Christ; when only, in all the periods of the
 human history, the Logos was expected or is be-
 lieved to have become, “ a *man* of God,” “ a *man*
 “ after the image of God,” a “ mortal” in an “ im-
 “ mortal,” a “ corruptible” in an “ incorruptible,”
 and “ man” in “ God:” that no doubt can be en-
 tertained, but they all refer to the grand formation
 of the Logos, into an IMMANUEL or GOD-MAN^u.

Let

^t P. 1073. Αλλ’ ἴσως ἀν τις εἴποι, τί ἔν γε ο τί πεπιστευκώς ἰχθίος, ἡ
 σκίαν, ἡ ὥραν ἀπιστίας δεχέται τοπαράπαν; τέλος δ’ ἔθεν ἕτερον μοι βε-
 λεσθαι δοκεῖ, ἡ τὸν γενομένον ἀποφαινέιν ἀγεννήτον, καὶ τὸν θνήσκον ἀθάνατον,
 καὶ τὸν φθαρτὸν ἀφθαρτὸν, καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπον (εἰ θεμὶς εἰπεῖν) θεόν· τὴν γὰρ
 πίσιν, ἧς ἐλαχεν ἄνθρωπος, εἰωθεταῖον φησὶ δεῖν εἶναι, ὡς μηδὲν διαφέρειν
 τῆς περὶ τὸ οὐ τῆς ἀρίθ καὶ περὶ πάντα πλήρης.

^u “ That sense was so well known in the synagogue, that you see
 “ in

Let us now, however, proceed from the descent of the Logos upon earth, and return with him to his native element of heaven again. There we find him spoken of by Philo, in these exalted terms. "Hesitate not," he cries, "if that which is older than the things existing be unspeakable; since his Logos is not to be spoken to us, by his proper name; and indeed, if that is unspeakable, it is also incomprehensible^x." Both the members of this sentence are referred to the Logos. That he is older than the things existing, has been his repeated description before. Philo therefore declares the Logos to be, "unspeakable" in his name, and "incomprehensible" in his nature. "The Logos of him who made the world, is the seal by which

"in Midrash Tehillim upon Psal. xxxiii, that the Shekinah [or Wisdom], which was in heaven, was to leave them [it], and to be upon the earth; and that, although it was not possible for any mortal to see her in this life, in the future age (which is the second coming of the Messiah) she is to be seen by Israel, who are then to live for ever, and to say as you see in Isa. xlv. 9, "Here is your God." And according to Ps. xlviii. 15, "He is God our God;" as it is observed by Tanchuma, and many others" (Allix's Judgment, p. 263—264). "The Messiah—was to bless all nations,—as is acknowledged by the author of the book Chasidim § 961; and that could not be done but by the Shekinah dwelling among them, as the Jews acknowledge it" (p. 266). "The salvation of Israel is to be made by God himself;—and—the Shekinah shall be their Redeemer. R. Men. fol. 19, col. 4, and fol. 58, col. 4, and fol. 59, col. 1" (p. 336).

^x P. 1046. Μηδ' ἐν διαφορῇ, εἰ το τῶν οὐλῶν πρεσβύτερον ἀρετὸν ὅποτε ὁ λόγος αὐτῶ κυρίῳ ὀνοματὶ ἔρητος ἡμῖν καὶ μὲν, εἰ ἀρετὸν, καὶ ἀπερινοητόν,

“ each of the things existing was figured: accord-
 “ ingly also, the things created have from the be-
 “ ginning kept a perfect form, as being the stamp
 “ and image of the perfect Logos. For the living
 “ thing created, is indeed imperfect in quantity;
 “ and its growth in every period of life, is a witness
 “ of this: but it is perfect in quality; for the same
 “ quality continues, as being stamped by *him who*
 “ *continues*, and *who is never changed*, the Divine
 “ Logos^y.” Philo thus assigns to “ the perfect
 “ Logos” that attribute of the Godhead, which pe-
 culiarly gives it perfection in the eyes of man;
 which makes it to be so respectable and dignified as
 it is, a nature sufficient to itself, and steady in its
 purposes; that has, at every moment of its opera-
 tions, all the possible reasons for the act and for the
 mode before it; and that therefore can admit into
 it, “ no” possible “ variableness, neither shadow of
 “ turning^z.”

This is ceding a kind of moral eternity to the
 Logos. But Philo also cedes to him a positive and
 physical one. We see Philo indeed declaring be-
 fore, that the Father, “ *when* he willed to fabricate

^y P. 452. Ο δε τε ποιητης λογος, αυτος εστιν η σφραγίς, η των οντων
 εκαστον μεμορφωται· παρ' ο και τελειον τοις γινομενοις εξ αρχης παρρα-
 κολληθει το ειδος, ατε εκμαγειον και εικων τελειη λογος· το γαρ γινομενον
 ζων, ατελες μεν εστι τω ποσω· μαρτυρες δ' αι καθ' ηλικιαν εκαστη παρ-
 αυξησεις. Τελειον δε τω ποιω· μενει γαρ η αυτη ποιησις, ατε απο μενοιν-
 εκμαχθεισα, και μηδαμη τρεπομενη, θειη λογος.

^z James i. 17.

“ this visible world, previously configured out of
“ himself” the Logos, as a pattern for it^a. This
seems to imply, that the Logos was only just a little
prior to the existence of the world. But this is
only a seeming implication. The real import is
very different. Philo, like some Christian writers
since who use the same language, means only the
deputation of the Son from the Father, for the cre-
ation of the world. This is demonstrably plain,
from his and their language upon other occasions.
Him whom they metaphorically notice, as generated
from the Father just before he created the world;
they actually pronounce to be ETERNAL^b. Thus
Philo tells us, that Moses “ called the soul the
“ image of the Divine and the Invisible; consider-
“ ing it to be the approved image, as being sub-
“ stantiated and moulded by the seal of God, of

^a See sect. iv. before, from Philo, p. 3.

^b See Bull's *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*, Grabe, p. 118—119, 170—
171, 190—194, and 278—279; a work, the chief of all Dr. Bull's
very capital works in favour of the Trinity, which lies unhappily
buried in its manly, generally transparent, but occasionally dark,
latinity, to the leaders of heresy among us; which therefore that
principal leader, Dr. Priestley, has in great humility called upon
each of his two grand adversaries, Mr. Badcock and Dr. Horsley, to
translate for him into English; and which, in pure charity to his
infirmities, I could wish somebody to translate, that he may at last
have the advantage of surveying so clear, so convincing, and so spi-
rited a composition, the faithful summary of ancient orthodoxy, and
the invincible bulwark of modern.

“ which the character is the *eternal* Logos^c.” “ If
 “ we are not yet fit to be thought the sons of
 “ God,” adds Philo, “ we may be at least of
 “ his *eternal* image, the most holy Logos^d.” And
 Philo at last attributes to him the *very same* eternity,
 which he also attributes to the Father; by styling
 him, “ the *eternal* Logos of the *everlasting* God^e.”

Philo accordingly tells us, that “ no one ought
 “ to swear by God, because he cannot know the
 “ nature of God; but it is well, if we are masters
 “ of *his name*, which *was that* of the interpreter
 “ Logos; for *this* Being to us imperfect persons
 “ would be *God*, but to the wise and perfect *the*
 “ *First One*^f.” “ The most noble of things is God,”
 he adds still more precisely, “ and *the second God* is

^c P. 216—217. Εἶπεν αὐτὴν τῇ θεῷ καὶ ἀορατῇ εἰκοναῖ· δοκιμὸν εἶναι νομισας, ἐσιωθῆσαν καὶ τυπωθῆσαν σφραγιδὶ θεῷ, ἧς ὁ χαρακτὴρ ἐστὶν αἰδίου λόγου.

^d P. 341. Εἰ μὴπω ἱκανοὶ θεῷ παῖδες νομιζέσθαι γεγωναμένον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῆς αἰδίου εἰκοναῖ αὐτῆς, λόγῳ τῇ ἱερῳική.

^e Eusebius's Prepar. Evang. p. 190. Λόγος—ὁ αἰδῖος θεῷ τῷ αἰωνίῳ. The *eternity* of the Messiah was formally announced to the Jews, in this passage of Micah v. 2: “ But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though
 “ thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall
 “ he come forth unto me, that is to be RULER IN ISRAEL; WHOSE
 “ GOINGS-FORTH HAVE BEEN FROM OF OLD, FROM EVERLAST-
 “ ING.” See this passage appropriated to the Messiah, by Mat. ii. 6.

^f Philo, p. 99. Εἰκότως γὰρ ἕδεις ὁμνυσι καθ' ἑαυτῆς [αὐτῆς]· οἷ γε καὶ περὶ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῆς διαγινώσκειν δύναται. ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι τῷ ὀνομα-
 τὸς αὐτῆς δυνήθωμεν, ὅπερ ἦν τῷ ἡρμηνεύει λόγῳ. τέλος γὰρ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀτελῶν
 ἀν εἶη θεῷ τῶν δὲ σοφῶν καὶ τελείων, ὁ πρῶτος.

“ the

“ the *Logos* of God^s. ” “ Why,” he asks in the same language, “ does he say this, as of *another God*, “ In the image of God made I the man,” but not “ in his own? This was delivered as a very fine “ and wise oracle. For nothing mortal could be “ moulded to the image of Him, who is the Most “ High and the Father of all; but of *the second God*, “ who is his *Logos*^h. ” Philo thus speaks in a style, that may sound to some ears as not theologically just; but that conveys sufficiently to our minds, his ideas of the Divinity (though subordinate) of the Son of God. Nor is it in reality very different, from the *canonical* language of our principal creed; which equally states him, to be “ God off God” and “ very God off very God.” But Philo goes on to repeat the same truth, in different forms. This is of considerable moment, to the weakness of the human intellect. It adds not to his testimony, but it convinces us of his meaning. It augments not the force of the truth, but it increases its impression upon our minds and spirits. To pure defecated intellect, one single assertion would be suffi-

^s P. 1103. Το δε γενικώτατον εστιν ο Θεός, και δευτερος [not δευτερον] ο Θεος λογος. So Origen calls the Son “ the Second God,” τον δευτερον Θεον (Bull, p. 232). So also Julian in Cyrill viii. p. 262.

^h Eusebius, Prepar. Evang. p. 190. Δια τι, ως περι ετερου Θεου, φησι το, Εν εικονι Θεου επονησα τον ανθρωπον, αλλ’ ουχι τη εαυτου; παγκαλως και σοφως τελει κεχρησμευθηται. Ήντην γαρ υδεν απεικονισθηναι προς τον ανωτατον και πατερα των ολων εδυνατο, αλλα προς τον δευτερον Θεον, ος εστιν εκεινος λογος.

cient; but to intellects like ours, shackled by passions, and clouded with prejudices, an iteration of the assertion in other language, but to the same signification, is useful, is important, is necessary. That the Logos was *eternal*, would be enough to convince us he was *God*; but yet to find him called *God*, to find him so called in different manners and in distant passages, enhances greatly the conviction. And he, who considers the nature of man from what he feels in himself, will rather multiply his proofs than abridge their number. “Invisible,” Philo tells us in another place, “and a sower of seed, “and a fabricator and divine, is the Logos, who “will lie up close to the Fatherⁱ.” This is placing our Saviour, who is similarly avowed in scripture to be “he that soweth the good seed” in the world; exactly as St. John the apostle places him, “in “the” very “bosom of the Father^k.” But Philo tells

ⁱ Philo, p. 497. Αοράτος, και σπερματικός, και τεχνικός, και θείος, ἐστὶ λόγος, ὃς προσηκούτως ἀνακείσεται τῷ πατρὶ. That the Logos is called σπερματικός, reminds us of Mat. xiii. 37, ὁ σπειρων τὸ καλὸν σπέρμα, ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Concerning the last clause let me observe, that the word προσηκούτως, in its original import, means *coming up to*, and so signifies as I have here rendered it, *close to*. The word ἀνακείσεται too, which was peculiarly applied at the time (see the Greek Gospels every where) to guests lying down on a couch at table, restrains προσηκούτως to its *native* sense. And the passage immediately cited by the text, coincides with and illustrates it completely. See also Bull, p. 83, 272, and 274, προσεχέσεται, in a passage that at once gives and receives light, to and from the present.

^k John 1. 18. Ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς.

“ This

tells us in another place, what indeed cannot give the Logos a higher rank of honour in nature, but what will more positively assure him of this. “ He “ that is above these,” he informs us, “ the divine “ Logos, came not into a visible form; as being to “ be compared with none of the sensible objects, “ but being himself the image of God, the *most* “ *ancient* of the universe of intellectuals, the nearest “ (there being no boundary of distinction between “ them) to the only one who is fixed without fal- “ hood¹.” In a passage more obscure than this, and very distant, Philo speaks of a Being “ musi- “ cal and grammatical, and also just and sober, “ wise too and manly, the very one only Most “ High, differing nothing from the archetypal idea, “ by whom these many and incredible things were “ formed^m.” The Being spoken of in the first part of this latter sentence, and characterised as

“ This is exactly what the Jews teach of—the Logos, whom they “ conceive to have been *in the bosom* of God, and being *so* the *Amon*, “ the *Son*, or (as it is) the *Omen*, the Creator of all things; R. Me- “ nach. fol. 1. col. 1—2: where he quotes the most authentick au- “ thors of the synagogue, who agree exactly upon that notion” (Al- lix’s Judgment, p. 332).

¹ P. 465. Ο δ’ υπερανω τελων, λογος· θεις, εις ορατην εκ ηλθεν ιδεαν, ατε μηδενι των κατ’ αισθησιν εμφανης ων, αλλ’ αυτος εικων υπαρ- χων θεος, των νοητων απαξαπαντων ο πρωτοειλατος, ο εγγυιατω (μηδενοντ μεθοριε διασηματ) τε μονος ο εστιν αψευδως αφιδρυμενος.

^m P. 1067. Αυτο δε τελος το μουσικον και γραμματικον, ετι δε δικαιον και σωφρον, φρονιμον τε και ανδρειον, εν αυτο μονον το ανωιατω, μηδεν ιδεας αρχετυπου διαφερον, αφ’ η τα πολλα και αμυθητα εκεινα διεπλασθη.

“ the

" the very one only Most High," is plainly the
 Father; and " the archetypal idea, by whom these
 " many and incredible things were formed," we
 have seen before to be the mystical title of the Lo-
 gos. Yet the Father is here declared expressly, to
 " differ nothing" from the Logos. In *origination*
 of existence, the Son " lies up close to," or is " in
 " the bosom of," the Father. He is thus " the
 " nearest" to him, and there is " no boundary of
 " distinction between them." But in the *quality* of
 his existence, in the *nature* which he thus received
 by origination from the Father; the Son " differs
 " nothing" from the Father, and the Father " dif-
 " fers nothing" from the Son. They are *substantially*
 the same, though they are *relatively* different; and
 the *very next* to each other, *because* they are relative-
 ly different, and yet substantially the same. And I
 shall close all my proofs out of Philo on this head,
 with one that seems to close them completely; by
 declaring the Logos to be so substantially one with
 the Father, as to be called the One only self-suffi-
 cient God. " Unity," we are informed, " cannot
 " by nature receive either addition or subtraction,
 " being the image of *the only full God*; for the
 " other things are soft in themselves, and, if ever
 " they have been even stiffened, they are *kept toge-*
 " *ther* by the divine Logos; for *he* is the glue and
 " bond, who bath filled all things out of his essence;
 " but

“ but *he*, who formed the *connexion* and *contexture*
 “ of every thing, is properly *full of himself*, not need-
 “ *ing any other at all*.”

—VII.—

I MIGHT here take my leave of the subject. The belief of the Jews in the absolute Divinity of their and our Logos, stands forward too plain upon the pages of Philo, and meets the eye in too prominent a form; to leave the slightest doubt upon the mind. Yet I will add a little more. And I will show the Logos of Philo to have been, in the opinion of him and his countrymen, the visible God of their nation, and the acting Jehovah of the Old Testament to them and to all mankind.

“ The holy Logos — speaks to some as a king,—
 “ to some as a schoolmaster;—to some he is very
 “ useful, as one counselling with them, introducing
 “ the best opinions to those, who know not of them-
 “ selves what is expedient; and to some as a friend,
 “ mildly and with persuasiveness, he produces many
 “ even of unspeakable things, of which it is not
 “ lawful for the imperfect man himself to hear any

“ P. 506—507. Μονας δε ελε προσθηκην ελε αφαιρεσιν δεχεσθαι πε-
 φυκεν, ειπων οσα τε μονα πληρης δευ. χαυνα γαρ τα τε αλλα εξ εαυτων·
 ει δε πα και πυκνωθεν ειη, λογω σφιγγεται δειω· κολλα γαρ εστι και
 δεσμ· ελε, τα παντα της οσιας εκπληρωκως. Ο δ' ειρας και
 συνυφηνας εκασα, πληρης αυτ· εαυτε κυριως εστιν, ο δειθεις ετερη
 τοπαραπαν.

“ thing:

“ thing: and there is a time, when he enquires of
 “ some, *as of Adam*, this, Where art thou? to *whom*
 “ one may answer properly, No where; because all
 “ human affairs remain not in the like state, but
 “ are moved about, both in soul and body and the
 “ things without.” The Logos is thus averred
 incidentally and allusively, to have been the God of
 the Unfallen Man, to have visited him in person on
 his fall, and so to have commenced his open in-
 tercourse with our race, in the life of our first father,
 and during our residence in Paradise. And he,
 who was the interposing God of the human family,
 in that grand crisis of its fate, when man became
 what he now is, unable to discern clearly what he
 then was, and only sensible he is now very different
 and very wretched; yet still lifting up his head, un-
 der assurances of pardon on his penitence, and still
 looking forward with faith, to his effected restora-
 tion by a redemption; must certainly be the God of
 man, in *all* this period of his restoration, and from
 the beginning to the end of it^p.

We

° P. 593—594. Ο ιερ^ς λογ^ς, τοις μεν ως βασιλευς—παράγγελλει·
 τοις δε ως γνωριμοις διδασκαλ^ς—· τοις δε ως συμβεβλος, γνωμας ειση-
 γημει^ς τας αριτας, τας το συμφερον εξ εαυτων ηκ ειδολας μηγα ωφελει·
 τοις δε, ως φιλ^ς, επιεικως και μετα πειθης πολλα και των αρετων ανα-
 φερει, ων ηδεν αυτην [αυτον] ατελεστον επακησαι θεμις· εστι δ’ οδε και
 πυνθανεται τινων ωσπερ τη Αδαμ, το, Πη ει· προς ον αποκριναιτο αν τις
 οικειως, υδαμ^ς· τωτα ανθρωπεια παντα εν ομοιωμη μενειν, αλλα και κινεισ-
 θαι και ψυχη και σωματι και τοις εκτ^ς.

p “ In the Jerusalem Targum—on Gen. xxxv. 9. we have these
 “ following

We accordingly see him incidentally again, acting as the God of our race at that marked æra of this period, when God had just entered upon a new course of interference with his sinning man; and had separated the family of Abraham from the other families of the earth, in order to check the commencing idolatry of it. “According to the third signification, he [Moses] gives the name of the Sun to the divine Logos, that pattern (as I have said before) of Him who is resident in heaven; of whom [the Logos] it is said, The Sun came out upon the earth, and Lot entered into Sigor, and the Lord rained brimstone and fire upon Sodom and Gomorrah. For the Logos of God, when he comes out to our earthly system, assists and helps those who

following words, “O Eternal God, thou hast taught us the marriage-blessing of *Adam* and *his wife*, for thus the scripture saith expressly, And the *Word* of the Lord blessed them, and the *Word* of the Lord said to them, Be ye fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth” (Allix’s Judgment, p. 205—206). “I quote here only R. Menachem, because he brings the very words of the authors who lived before him; so that his authority is not alone, but upheld by the consent of old authors. Now he and his authors teach constantly, that ’twas the Shekinah [or Logos], which appeared to Adam after his sin, and made him some clothes, fol. 59. col. 4” (Allix, p. 165). “Onkelos and Jonathan have it, that *Adam* and *his wife* “heard the voice of the *Word* of the Lord God “walking in the garden” [Gen. iii. 8]. “Likewise in the Jerusalem Targum, ver. 9, it is said, “The *Word* of the Lord “called to Adam,” &c. “and again, ver. 10, where Adam makes this answer to God, “I heard thy voice in the garden;” both Onkelos and Jonathan have it, “I heard the voice of thy *Word* “in the garden” (p. 206).

“ are

“ are related to virtue, and are fond of virtue, to
 “ afford a perfect refuge and preservation to them;
 “ but, on the enemies of virtue, sends down ruin
 “ and destruction incurable.” In this mixed and
 imperfect kind of allegory, in which the Logos is
 at once figuratively under the type of the Sun, and
 personally with the appellation of the Lord; we
 see him “ coming out to our earthly system,” then
 “ assisting and helping” the virtuous family of Lot,
 and “ affording them a perfect refuge and preser-
 “ vation” in Zoar; but “ sending down ruin and
 “ destruction incurable,” on “ the enemies of vir-
 “ tue” in Sodom and Gomorrah. And we thus
 find the God of the post-diluvian world, in the
 opinion of the Jews of Philo’s days, to be equally
 the Logos with that of the ante-diluvian; and the
 God of Abraham, in the belief of his descendants,
 to be the same with the Logos of both^r.

“ It

† P. 578. Κατα δε τριτον σημαινόμενον, ηλιον καλει τον θειον λογον, το τε κατ’ ορανιον περιπολεντ^ς (ως προλερον ελεχθη) παραδειγμα· εφ’ ο λεγεται, Ο ηλι^ς εξηλθεν επι την γην, και Λωι εισηλθεν εις Σιγωρ, και κυρι^ς εβρεξεν επι Σοδομα και Γομορρα θειον και πυρ. Ο γαρ τεθ^ς θεος λογ^ς, ειναι επι το γεωδες ημων συστημα αφικηται, τοις μεν αρετης συγγενεσι και προς αρετην αποκλινουσιν αρηγοι και βοηθει, ως καταφυγην και σωτηριαν αυτοις παριζειν παντελη· τοις δε αντιπαλοις ολεθρον και φθοραν ανιατον επι-πεμπει.

† “ R. Menachem—and his authors teach constantly, that ’twas
 “ the Shekinah [or Logos], which—appeared to Abraham, fol. 35.
 “ col. 2” (Allix, p. 165). “ Now, saith the Jerusalem paraphrase
 “ on Exod. xii. 42, It was the *Word* of the Lord, that appeared to
 “ Abraham between the pieces; and, according to Onkelos and Jo-
 “ nathan,

“ It is said, “ The Lord thy God will instruct
 “ thee, as if a man shall instruct his son.” Why
 “ then do we yet wonder, that he is assimilated to
 “ angels; when he is assimilated also to men, for
 “ the sake of assisting them who want: as when he
 “ says, “ I am the God who appeared to thee in
 “ the place of God;” this is to be understood,
 “ that the Unchangeable held in semblance the
 “ place of an angel, for the profit of him who was
 “ not yet able to look upon the true God. For as
 “ those, who cannot look upon the sun itself, view
 “ the sun’s reflected light as the sun, and the
 “ changes about the moon as the very moon; so
 “ also they consider the image of God, his angel,
 “ the Logos, as himself. Observest thou not that
 “ compleat instruction, Hagar; that she says to
 “ the angel, “ Art thou the God who looked
 “ upon me?” For she was not fit to look at the
 “ most ancient cause; she being by descent from
 “ those of Egypt. But now the mind begins to
 “ improve, going in its imagination up to the
 “ Chief of all powers. Wherefore he himself says,
 “ I am the Lord the God, whose image thou
 “ [Jacob] hast hitherto contemplated as me, and

“ nathan, Exod. vi. 8, It was by his *Word* that God made this co-
 “ venant with Abraham:—so the Jerusalem paraphrase has it” on
 Gen. xviii. 1, “ The *Word* of the Lord appeared to Abraham;”
 “ Jonathan also—on Deut. xxxiv. 6, hath these words—“ The Lord
 “ revealed himself by the vision of his *Word* to Abraham” (p. 207
 —208.)

“ hast

““ haft dedicated a moft holy pillar, having en-
 ““ graven an infcription on it. And the infcription
 ““ fignified, that I have ftood alone, and have fixed
 ““ the nature of all things; having brought diforder
 ““ and deformity into order and beauty, and having
 ““ conftituted the whole, that it may be eftablifhed
 ““ firmly by the Powerful One, and my Deputy
 ““ Governor, the Logos⁹.”” I have cited this long
 and

⁹ P. 600. Λεγέται, Παιδεύσει σε Κύριος ο Θεός, ως εἰ τις παιδεύσει
 ἄνθρωπος τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. τί ἐν εἰς θαυμάζομεν εἰ ἀγγελοῖς, ὅποτε καὶ ἀνθρώ-
 ποις (ἐνεκα τῆς τῶν δεομένων ἐπικηρίας), ἀπεικαζέται· ὡς τε οἶαν φη,
 Ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ θεός, ὁ ὀφθεῖς σοὶ ἐν τοπῷ θεῷ. τὴ τ’ ἐννοήσαν, οἱ τὸν ἀγγελοῦ
 τοποῦν ἐπέσχε (ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν) ἔ μείαδαλων, πρὸς τὴν τὴ μητῷ δυναμένην
 τὸν ἀληθὲ θεὸν ἰδεῖν ὠφελεῖαν. Καθὰπερ γὰρ τὴν ἀνθηλίον αὐγὴν ὡς ἡλίον,
 οἱ μὴ δυναμένοι τὸν ἡλίον αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν, ὀρῶσι, καὶ τὰς περὶ σὴλην ἄλλοι-
 ὡσεὶς ὡς αὐτὴν ἐκείνην· εἰὼς καὶ τὴν τὴ θεῷ εἰκονα, τὸν ἀγγελοῦ αὐτὴν, λο-
 γόν, ὡς αὐτὸν καλᾶνουσιν. ἔχ ὀρας τὴν ἐγκυκλίον παιδείαν Ἀγάρ, οἱ τῷ
 ἀγγελοῦ φησι, Σὺ ὁ θεός ὁ ἐπιδῶν με; ἔ γὰρ ἡ ἐκάνη τὸ πρεσβύτατον ἰδεῖν
 αἰλίον, γένος ἔσα τῶν ἀπ’ Αἰγυπτῆ. νυνὶ δὲ ὁ νῆς ἀρχέται βελήσθαι, τὸν
 ἡγεμόνα πασῶν τῶν δυναμειῶν φαντασιωμένος· διο καὶ αὐτὸς φησιν, Ἐγὼ
 εἰμὶ κύριος ὁ θεός, ἔ τὴν εἰκονα ὡς ἐμε πρότερον εθεασῶ, καὶ σὴλην (ἐπι-
 γραμμα ἐγκολαψας) ἐρωτᾶτον ἀνεθήκας· τὸ δ’ ἐπιγράμμα ἐμνηνεν, οἱ
 μόνος ἐσηκα ἐγὼ, καὶ τὴν παντῶν φύσιν ἰδρύσαμεν, τὴν ἀίαξιαν καὶ
 ἀκοσμίαν εἰς τάξιν καὶ κόσμον ἀγαγών, καὶ τὸ παντὶ ἐπερῆσας,
 ἵνα σὴριχθῇ βεβαίως τῷ κραταίῳ καὶ υπαρχῶ με λόγῳ. Concern-
 ing the Being who appeared to Hagar, “ Jonathan renders
 “ ver. 13 [Gen. xvi], ““ She confessed before the Lord Jehovah,
 ““ whose *Word* had spoken to her;”” and the Jerusalem Targum,
 ““ She confessed and prayed to the *Word* of the Lord who had ap-
 ““ peared to her.”” And “ Gen. xxi.—ver. 20, ““ God was with
 ““ the lad,””—is thus rendered both by Onkelos and Jonathan,
 ““ the *Word* of the Lord was his support or assistance”” (Allix’s
 Judgment, p. 210). As to Jacob, “ according to Jonathan’s Tar-
 “ gum

and obscure passage, in order to show more fully than I could do by a shorter extract, the acknowledged agency of the Logos in the peculiar theocracy of the Jews. In that history of our race, which alone carries us to the first springs and sources of nations, and exhibits them to us awfully beginning in a single pair, thence expanding into families, dilating into towns, and at last diffusing themselves into kingdoms; we peculiarly see those two nations of the Saracens and the Jews, which now stand so distinguished on the earth for their common opposition to our God, descending both from the great father of the faithful, Abraham. The present passage refers, to the first lineaments of the history of both. There is an obscurity in parts,

“ gum on Gen. xxvii. 28, Isaac prayed for his son Jacob in these
“ words, “The *Word* of the Lord give thee of the dew of heaven;”
“ and in the same Targum on Gen. xxxi. 5, where Jacob saith
“ The God of my father hath been with me,” it is rendered
“ The *Word* of the God of my father,” or “The *Word* BEING
“ the God of my father.”—In the introduction, ver. 10 [of Gen.
“ xlviii], where the text speaks of Jacob’s setting out from Beer-
“ sheba to go to Haran; there both Jonathan and the Jerusalem
“ Targum tell us, of the sun’s making haste to go down before his
“ time, because the *Word* had a desire to speak with Jacob. Again,
“ in the conclusion of this history Gen. xxviii. 20—21, where Jacob
“ vowed a vow saying, “If God will be with me—, then shall the
“ Lord be my God;” here we read in Jonathan’s Targum, that
“ Jacob vowed a vow to the *Word*, saying, If the *Word* of the Lord
“ will be my help,—then shall the Lord be my God.”—And it is
“ expressly said in the Jerusalem Targum, “The *Word* of the Lord
“ appeared to Jacob the second time, when he was coming from
“ Padan-Aram, and blessed him” (p. 211—213).

H

from

from the involution of one allegory within another. But the import of the whole is clear. "The *God* " who appeared" to that second father of the Jews, Jacob, is declared to have "appeared in *the place* " of *God*;" and, by him, "the *Unchangeable* held " in semblance the place of an angel;" because Jacob "was not able to look upon the true God." But then this Angel and this God, was "the image " of God, his Angel, the Logos." And he was "considered" by the persons to whom he then appeared, "as God himself;" just "as those, who " cannot look upon the sun itself, view the sun's " reflected light as the sun." The Logos therefore was then "considered," just as we publickly pronounce him at present, to be "God off God," and "Light off Light." He is also said to have been the *Angel* and the *God*, which appeared to that mother of the Saracens, Hagar; because "she was " not fit to look upon the Most Antient Cause," or God the Father himself. Nor is the *Father* here said to have ever appeared to Jacob, in reference to any historical fact. The intimation is merely one of Philo's fancy-pieces; and is only then to be true, *when* "the mind begins to improve, going in its " *imagination* to the Chief of all powers." Jacob is expressly declared in this very extract, to have "hitherto contemplated the image of God," or the Logos, "as God himself." And the reason of this contemplation is assigned, in a manner that extends to

to Jacob, to Abraham, and to Adam, to all generations of men before and after the flood; that the Father has left all things in this world of his, to “ be established firmly by the Powerful One, and “ his Deputy Governor, the Logos.” The Son of God was the God of the Jews, because he was, and had always acted as, the Lord of the universe before; the Father having deputed him, to take the general government of the world, and the particular government of the Jews, into his hands^t.

We have thus the vision of Jacob, in some measure realized to us; “ a ladder” is “ set upon “ the earth, and the top of it reaches to heaven;” and “ the Lord” the Logos “ stands above it, and “ says, I am the Lord God of Abraham thy Fa-

^t “ The Samaritans, who were originally of the same religion with “ the Jews,—have shewn that they had in the apostles times, the “ same notions that are met with in Philo, of a plurality in God. “ We have a proof of it Acts viii. 9; where we read, that Simon “ Magus had bewitched that people, giving out that himself was “ *τις μεγας, some great one.* He did not say what, but gave them “ leave to understand it their own way. And how did they take it? “ This follows ver. 10: they said, *εἰς εἷν ἡ δυναμις τε θεῶν ἡ μεγαλη,* “ *This person is the great power of God.* This they would not have “ said, if they had not believed, that, besides the Great God, there “ was also a person called *ἡ δυναμις θεῶν.*—For their calling him the “ Power of God, what that means we cannot better learn than from “ Origen; who, speaking of Simon, and *such others as would make “ themselves like our Lord Jesus Christ,* saith they called themselves “ *Sons of God, or the Power of God,* which he makes to be two titles “ *of one and the same signification* (Orig. cont. Celsus, lib. i. p. 44); “ and both these titles are given to the *Λογος,* by Philo” (Allix’s Judgment, p. 133—134).

“ ther, and the God of Isaac.” The same Being continued the Guardian God of the Jews, ever afterwards. “ In the middle of the flame,” says Philo concerning the burning bush of Moses, “ was
 “ a certain very beautiful form, comparable to no-
 “ thing of the visibles; a most god-like image,
 “ lightening out a light more splendid than fire;
 “ which one might conjecture to be the image of
 “ Him Who Is: but let it be called an angel, be-
 “ cause he almost foretold the things that were
 “ about to happen, in a plainer manner than he had
 “ done with his voice before, through the mag-
 “ nificently elaborated sight.—God having shown
 “ to Moses this very wonderfully elaborated pro-
 “ digy,” &c^x. Philo thus makes the Being who appeared to Moses in the bush, to be that “ Angel” who was “ the image” of the Father, who was therefore “ God” with him, and was denominated his Logos or his Son. This Being appeared as “ a
 “ certain very beautiful form, comparable to no-
 “ thing of the visibles, a most god-like image,
 “ lightening out a light more splendid than fire;
 “ which one might conjecture to be the” very

^u Gen. xxviii. 12—13.

^x P. 612—613. Καὶ αὖτε μεσσην τὴν φλογα μορφὴ τις ἡν περικαλλεστάτη, τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐμφερὲς ἔδει, θεοειδέστατον ἀγαλμα, φῶς αὐγοειδέστερον τῆ πυρρῆς ἀπαστραπύσασα, ἣν ἂν τις ὑπέλοιπεν εἰκόνα τῆ οὐσίας εἶναι· καλεῖσθαι δὲ ἀγγέλους, ὅτι σχεδὸν τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι διηγγελλέοντα τρανότερα, φωτὸς ἡσυχία, διὰ τῆς μεγαλουργηθείσης οὐφείας.—τὸ τεράστιον τέλο καὶ τεθαυμά-
 τουργημένον δείξας ὁ θεὸς τῷ Μωσέϊ, κ. ἴ. λ.

“ image”

“ image” of God the Father himself. “ But let it
“ be called an angel,” that showed “ the magni-
“ ficently elaborated sight.” Yet it was “ God,”
who “ showed this very wonderfully elaborated
“ prodigy.” This God also declares expressly, in
the very history to which Philo is here referring;
“ I am the God of thy father, the God of Abra-
“ ham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob^y.”
And therefore the God of Moses’s father, the God
of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of
Jacob, in the opinion of Philo and the Jews, was
the very Logos himself^z.

But we need not dwell upon particular evidences.
We may appeal to comprehensive testimonies.
“ There is a time,” as Philo has said before,
“ when the Logos enquires of some as of *Adam*,
“ this, Where art thou?—When however he comes
“ into the assembly of friends, he begins not to
“ speak, before he calls upon every one of them,

^y Exodus iii. 6; or (as cited in Acts vii. 32), “ the God of thy
“ fathers” in the plural. So it is also in an ancient author, quoted
by Eusebius in *Prepar. Evang.* p. 190.

^z When this “ Angel of the Lord,” and this “ God of Abraham,
“ God of Isaac, and God of Jacob,” ordered Moses at the burning
bush to tell the Israelites, “ I AM THAT I AM,” or in fewer
words, “ I AM, hath sent me unto you,” *Exod.* iii. 14; “ in the
“ Jerusalem Targum—we read, that “ the *Word* of the Lord said
“ to Moses, He that said to the world, Let it be, and it was, and
“ shall say, Let it be, and it shall be.” Here Moses asked *God*,
“ and the *Word* answereth his question” (*Allix’s Judgment*,
p. 215).

“ and addresſes them by name—. In this manner
 “ is *Mofes* called upon, at the buſh. For “ as
 “ ſoon as *God* ſaw,” ſays the hiſtory, “ that
 “ *Mofes* approached to behold, *God* called to him
 “ out of the buſh, ſaying, *Mofes, Mofes.*” —
 “ *Abraham* too, at the holocauſt of his beloved and
 “ only ſon,—is ſtopt. For in the beginning ſays
 “ the hiſtorian, that “ *God* tempted *Abraham.*” —
 “ And there “ called to him the *angel* of the Lord
 “ out of heaven, ſaying, *Abraham, Abraham* ^a.”
 The great lawgiver of the Jews, the celebrated
 founder of their nation, and the venerable progeni-
 tor of them and of all mankind, all conſequently
 owned the Logos, the Angel of the Lord, for their
 immediate God. “ This Logos did not the fa-
 “ thers know; not thoſe who were in truth ſo, but
 “ thoſe who, gray-headed with age, ſaid, Give us
 “ a leader, and let us return to the ſins of Egypt ^b.”
 This paſſage affirms in fact, what it ſeems to deny
 in words. The Logos is allowed to have been the

^a P. 594. Εἰ δ' οἷε καὶ πυνθανεῖται τινῶν ὡς περ τῆς Ἀδὰμ, το, Πῆ εἰ·
 —ἐπειδὴν μέντοι πρὸς το τῶν φίλων ἐλθὼν συνεδρίον, ἔπεσεν ἀρχεῖν λέγειν,
 ἢ ἑκάστου αὐτῶν ἀνακαλεσθαι, καὶ ὀνομασίᾳ προσηύπειν—. τῶν τῶν τροπῶν.
 ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαῖς Μωσῆς ἀνακαλεῖται· ὡς γὰρ εἶδε (φησὶν) οἷε προσάγει ἰδεῖν,
 ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ πῆς ἑαῖς, λέγων, Μωϋσῆ, Μωϋσῆ.—Ἀβραὰμ δὲ,
 ἐπὶ τῆς τῆς ἀγαπῆς καὶ μονῆς παιδὸς ὀλοκαυτώσεως,—ἐκώλυθη. ἀρχομένου
 μὲν γὰρ φησὶν, οἷε ὁ θεὸς ἐπειράζει τὸν Ἀβραὰμ.—τὸν δὲ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν ἀγ-
 γελὸς κυρίῃ ἐκ τῆς ἑρῆας, λέγων, Ἀβραὰμ, Ἀβραὰμ.

^b P. 93. Τῶν τῶν λόγων ἐκ ἡδεῖσαν οἱ πατέρες, ἔχ' οἱ πρὸς ἀληθείαν,
 ἀλλ' οἱ χρόνῳ πολλοὶ, οἱ λεγόντες, Δωμεν ἀρχηγόν, καὶ ἀποσρεψόμεν εἰς τὸ
 πάθος Αἰγυπτῆ.

God of their fathers. Him all the Israelites acknowledged for their God, in that march of a whole nation out of Egypt, which has no parallel in all the movements of the human race, for its own intrinsic grandeur of action, and exclusively of all its accompanying prodigies of power. They all acknowledged him, but some did not *know* or *honour* him. These repented of their migration out of Egypt, notwithstanding all the prodigies which they had seen; wanted to throw off the guiding hand of their Logos; and wished to return out of the barren wilderness before them, to the well-provided tables of Egypt. They thus, says David, “provoked
“the *Most Highest* in the wilderness^c.” And the Logos is accordingly said by Philo, to be “deno-
“minated the Principle, and the Name of God,
“and the Logos, and the Man after the image” of God, “AND THE OVERSEER OF ISRAEL^d.”

^c Psalm lxxviii. 18. I cite the translation in our liturgy, as most popular. The other version says, “the Most High.”

^d Philo p. 341. Αρχη, και Ονομα θεου, και λογος, και ο κατ’ εικονα ανθρωπος, και Ορων Ισραηλ, προσαγορευεται. So our Saviour is called the Charioteer of Israel, ηνιοχη Ισραηλ, by Clemens Alexandrinus (Pædagogus, lib. iii. c. 12. p. 311). “They [the Jews] make it
“*the Word*, that appeared to the ancients under the name of the
“Angel of the Lord” (Allix’s Judgment, p. 184). They main-
“tain—the *Memra* [or Logos] is the *Jehovah*, the Angel of the
“Covenant, the Angel of the Redeemer whom Jacob invoked
“Gen. xlviii. 5, *this very Ruler of Israel*, to whom they refer all
“things related in the Books of Moses. Men. fol. 59, col. 2” (p. 332).

The Logos was plainly then, in the opinion of Philo, the God of the Jews, the God of the patriarchs, and the God of the antecedent ages of man. He is therefore stiled God, says Philo, repeatedly in the Old Testament. Jacob cried out on awaking after his vision at Bethel, " Surely the Lord is in
 " this place, and I knew it not—; how dreadful is
 " this place! this is none other but the house of
 " God." " This sensible world," Philo remarks upon the passage, " is nothing else but the house of
 " God, who is one of the Powers of the real God,
 " by whom he was good^e." The " God" who appeared to Jacob at Bethel, we have seen before to be the Logos; and this God is here declared to be
 " one of the Powers of the real God," even that very Power " by *whom* he was good." " Do not," adds Philo, " pass over what is said" to Jacob,
 " but accurately examine if there are two Gods.
 " For it is said, I am the God who appeared to
 " thee, not in my place, but in the place of God,
 " as of another God. What then should we say?
 " Indeed he that is in truth God, is one; but they
 " that are catachrestically made Gods, are several.
 " Wherefore also holy writ, in the present passage,
 " has pointed out him that is in truth God by the
 " article, saying, I am *the* God; but the cata-

^e P. 593. Ο αισθητός υἱοσι κόσμος ἔθεν ἀρα ἄλλο ἐστίν, ἢ οἶκος θεοῦ, μίας τῶν τε οὐλῶς θεῶν δυναμεων, καθ' ἣν ἀγαθος ἦν.

" chrestick

“ chrestick God without the article, saying, Who
 “ appeared to thee in the place, not of *the* God,
 “ but only this, of God. And he calls now his
 “ most antient Logos *the* God, not being religi-
 “ ously scrupulous about the position of names, but
 “ having proposed one end to his narration ^f.”
 Philo thus pronounces the Logos to be *the* God,
 and “ him that is in truth God;” in opposition *seem-*
ingly to the Father, as a “ catachrestick God,” but in
 contradistinction really from “ the catachrestically
 “ made Gods” of Heathenism. It is the Father,
 “ who calls now *his* most antient Logos *the* God.”
 And “ he that is in truth God, is *one*; but they
 “ that are catachrestically made Gods, are *several*.”
 Either way, however, the passage marks the true,
 the genuine divinity of the Logos, in the most sub-
 stantial manner ^g. By the cherubim over the
 mercy-seat,

^f P. 599. Μη παρελθης δε το ειρημενον, αλλ' ακριβως εξελασον ει δυο
 εισι θεοι· λεγεται γαρ, Εγω ειμι ο θεος ο οφθεις σοι, ηκ εν τοπω τω εμω,
 αλλ' εν τοπω θεου, ως αν ειρη. τι ην χρη λεγειν; ο μεν αληθεια θεος, εις
 εστιν· οι δ' εν καταχρησει γενομενοι, πλειους. διο και ο ιερος λογος, εν τω
 παροντι, τον μεν αληθεια δια τε αρθρου μεμνησκεν, ειπων, Εγω ειμι ο θεος·
 τον δε καταχρησει χωρις αρθρου, φασκων, Ο οφθεις σοι εν τοπω, η τε θεου,
 αλλ' αυλο μονον, θεου. Καλει δε τον θεον τον πρεσβυταλον αυτη νυνι λογον, η
 δεισιδαιμονων περι την θεσιν των ονοματων, αλλ' εν τελος προστεθειμενον
 [προστεθειμενος] πραγματολογησει.

^g See also p. 593, where *the* God, ο θεος, is also called the *Angel*
 of *the* God, just as in Gen. xxi. 11—13 the Angel of God is deno-
 minated *the* God. This therefore turns that *petty* argument of the
 Arians, directly against themselves; which would deny the divinity of
 the Son of God, because, though he is called *God*, yet he is not called
the God, as the Father is. Surely *that* is as sufficient to establish the
 divinity

mercy-seat, “ I would say are plainly to be understood, the two most antient and most high Powers of Him Who Is, the Making and the Royal; and indeed his Making Power is denominated *God*, according to which he placed, and made, and disposed this universe; but the Royal is called *Lord*, by which he governs the things that are made, and with justice firmly controuls them^h.” We have already seen both these Powers, united by Philo in the Logos; as the equal Creator and Governor of the world under the Father, and as therefore the *Lord God* of the Old Testament. “ Seeft

divinity of the *Son*, as *this* may be to ascertain the Godhead of the *Father*. And the argument, if well-founded in itself, would only serve to prove, that the *Son* is *not* the *Father*. But the argument is as false in fact, as it is frivolous in nature. In Philo and the Old Testament here, *the* God is the very Son of God himself. And, by Arian logick, these passages would exclude the very *Father* from the Godhead.

I say not this, as resting on such a point of *articular* theology. It is too trifling either way, for a moment's thought. The passage in 593 shows this very clearly; where *the* God is denominated the Angel of *the* God, ο θεος and ο αγγελος τῷ θεῷ. And, as any page either in the Old or New Testament will convince an examiner at a glance, the article is omitted or inserted, and inserted or omitted; from some principles of composition, that are indiscernible, and therefore seem arbitrary, to us. See also a long and decisive note upon the subject, in Pearson on the Creed, p. 120—121; and others again, in p. 124, 130, 132, and 150, of that universal scholar.

^h P. 668—669. Εγὼ δ' ἂν εἰποιμι δηλοῦσθαι δι' ὑπονοίων τὰς πρεσβυτάτας καὶ ἀνώτατας δύο τῶν Οὐλοῦ δυνάμεις, τὴν τε ποιητικὴν καὶ βασιλικὴν. ονομαζέσθαι δὲ ἡ μὲν ποιητικὴ δύναμις αὐτὴ θεός, καθ' ἣν ἐθήκε καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ διεσκόσμησε τὸδε τὸ παν· ἡ δὲ βασιλικὴ Κύριος, ἡ τῶν γενομένων ἀρχεῖ, καὶ συνδικὴ ἐξουσίᾳ ἐπικρατεῖ.

“ thou

“ thou not,” adds Philo in the same spirit of subtilizing being into power, and dividing the Logos in two; “ that about Him Who Is are the first
 “ and greatest of Powers, the Beneficent and the
 “ Corrective? And the Beneficent is called *God*,
 “ because according to it he placed and disposed the
 “ universe; but the other is called *Lord*, to which
 “ belongs the government of the wholeⁱ.” The Logos consequently, that Creator and Governor of the world, has all the beneficent and corrective Powers of God in his hands. And “ of the Powers,
 “ which God has extended to the creation of that
 “ which was constituted in beneficence, it is the
 “ case of some to be called according to their object; the Royal, the Beneficent. For a king is a
 “ king of somebody, and a benefactor is a benefactor of somebody; he who is governed by the
 “ king, and he who is obliged by the benefactor,
 “ being totally different. Related to these is also
 “ the Making Power, which is called *God*; for, by
 “ this Power, the Father who generated and framed,
 “ placed all things^k.” Philo has thus multiplied the

ⁱ P. 854. Η ἔχ' ὅρας, οἱ περὶ τὸ Οὐ αἰ πρῶται καὶ μεγίσται τῶν δυναμῶν εἰσιν, ἡ τε εὐεργέτης καὶ κολασηριος; καὶ προσαγορευεῖται ἡ μὲν εὐεργέτης θεός, ἐπεὶ κατὰ ταύτην ἐθεκε καὶ διέσκοσμησε τὸ πᾶν· ἡ δ' ἑτέρα Κυριος, καθ' ἣν ἀνηπύει τῶν ὅλων τὸ κράτος.

^k P. 1048—1049. Τῶν δὲ δυναμῶν, αἷς εἰσὶν εἰς γενεσὶν ἐπ' εὐεργεσίᾳ τε συσπλάθηντος, ἐνίας συμβέβηκε λεγέσθαι ὡσανεὶ πρὸς τι· τὴν Βασιλικὴν, τὴν εὐεργετικὴν. Βασιλεὺς γὰρ τις, καὶ εὐεργέτης τις· εἰς πάντως

the Logos at last, into *three*; and made him the Creative, the Beneficent, and the Royal, Powers of God. What then remains behind in the Godhead? Nothing certainly. The whole Godhead is exhausted (as it were) by Philo, in order to dress out the Logos of the Jews, in all the moral and physical attributes of God.

But let us observe, how Philo speaks of these Powers in the Godhead, upon another occasion. “I pray then,” he introduces a man saying to God, “that I may behold the glory around you;” “and I think your glory to be the Powers which” “attend you as guards—. And he answers and” “says, The Powers which you seek to know, are” “wholly invisible and intellectual, as I am in-” “visible and intellectual—. But, though they are” “incomprehensible in their essence, yet they show” “a certain stamp and image of their operativeness,” “like seals among you—. Such, it is to be un-” “derstood, are the Powers which stand about me,” “investing with qualities the things that want qua-” “lities, and the things without form with form,” “and yet being no ways lessened or diminished in” “their eternal nature. And some of your country-” “men name them not amiss *Ideas*, because they” “*ἰδιοποιοῦσι* [give the proper forms to] every one of

παντως βασιλευμεναι και ευεργετημεναι ταυτων συγγενης εστι και η ποιητικη δυναμις, η καλεμενη θεος· δια γαρ ταυτης της δυναμειως εθηκε τα παντα, γεννησας και τεχνιλευσας παληρ.

“ the

“ the things existing, putting the disordered in
 “ order, and bounding and terminating and figur-
 “ ing the unbounded and unterminated and un-
 “ figured, and on the whole harmonizing the worse
 “ into the better¹.” This is plainly meant, only as
 a diffusive and metaphorical description of the Lo-
 gos. He, as we have seen abundantly before, has
 “ shown a certain stamp and image of his operative-
 “ ness, like a seal among men,” in the works of
 the creation; though at the same time, as “ the
 “ glory around” the Father, in the language of
 Philo, or, in the similar language of Christianity,
 as “ the brightness of his Father’s glory,” he is
 “ incomprehensible in his essence.” He has thus
 “ invested with qualities, the things that wanted
 “ qualities” in the chaotic state; “ and the things
 “ without form, with form.” Yet he was “ no-
 “ ways lessened or diminished in his eternal nature.”
 And *some of the Jews before Philo*, who had been re-
 fining like him on the subject of the Logos, had

¹ P. 817. Ἰκέλευω δ' ἐγώ, τὴν γὰρ περὶ σε δοξάν θεασασθαι· δοξάν δὲ
 σὴν εἶναι νομίζω τὰς τε δορυφορούσας δυνάμεις—· ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεσθαι καὶ φησιν,
 Ἀς ἐπιζητεῖς δυνάμεις, εἰσὶν ἀοράτοι καὶ νοήται πάντως, ἐμὲ τε ἀοράτω καὶ
 νοήτω—· αἱ δ' ἀκατάληπτοι καὶ ἀληθινὰ ὄντα, ὁμῶς περιφαινέσιν ἐκμαγεῖον τε
 καὶ ἀπεικονισμόν τῆς αὐτῶν ἐνεργείας, οἷαι παρ' ἡμῖν [ὑμῖν] σφραγίδες—.
 Τοιαύτας ὑποληπτέον καὶ τὰς περὶ ἐμὲ δυνάμεις, περιποιήσας ἀποτοῖς ποιοή-
 τας καὶ μορφὰς ἀμορφοῖς, καὶ μηδὲν τῆς αἰδίου φύσεως μὴ ἐλάττωσας μὴ ἐ-
 μειωμένας· ὀνομαζέσθαι δ' αὐτὰς ἔκ ἀποσκοπῶντιν τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ἰδεῶν,
 ἐπεὶ δὴ ἕκαστον τῶν ὄντων ἰδιοποιήσιν, τὰ ἀτάκτως ταῦτάς, καὶ τὰ ἀπείρα
 καὶ ἀορίστα καὶ ἀσχημαλίστα πειράσθαι καὶ περιορίζεσθαι καὶ σχημαλίζεσθαι,
 καὶ συνολῶς τὸ χεῖρον εἰς τὸ ἀμεινον καθαρμόζομεναι.

called

called him an *Idea*; just as Philo himself has called him the Intellectual World, and the World composed of Ideas; because *ideas* in the Greek, in which Philo and they wrote, signify thoughts as the *proper* resemblances of things; and because he “gave
“ the proper forms, to every one of the things exist-
“ ing.” In this manner does Philo continue to dwell upon the Logos, as “the Powers” of the Godhead, and as therefore the substance and essence of God the Father.

To these evidences of the sentiments of Philo and his countrymen, concerning the Godhead of the Logos; I shall subjoin only three more, all tending to the same point of important intelligence; and even more distinctly showing the whole power of the Godhead, seemingly concentrated in the Logos.
“ In the one truly existing God, are two very high
“ and first Powers, Goodness and Authority; and
“ by Goodness indeed was all the universe made,
“ but by Authority is the universe governed; and
“ a third, as a conjoiner of and middle between
“ both, is the Logos. For by the Logos is God
“ a Governor and Good^m.” How strongly does Philo display the general opinion of his times, con-

^m P. 112. Κατα τον ενα ολως ολα θεον, δυο τας ανωτατω ειναι και πρωτας δυναμεις, αγαθοτητα και εξουσιαν· και αγαθοτητι μεν το παν γεγενηκεναι· εξουσια δε, τε γεννηθεντος αρχειν· τριτον δε συναγωγον αμφοιν, μεσον ειναι λογον· λογω γαρ και αρχοντα και αγαθον ειναι τον θεον.

cerning the Divinity of his Logos ! The Logos is “ the Goodness” of the Father, “ by whom,” as was said before, “ he was Good,” or, as is said now *to the very same meaning*, by whom “ was all the “ universe framed.” The Logos too is “ the “ Power” of the Father, by which “ is the uni- “ verse governed.” And the Logos is also “ the “ third, as a conjoiner of and middle between “ both ;” because “ by the Logos is God a Go- “ vernor and Good.” The Logos therefore is the Authority and the Goodness of the Father, and at once the cement and the cause of both in Him.— In the same manner does Philo speak, of that Being’s appearance to Abraham just before the destruction of Sodom; whom we know to be characterised in the history, as “ the judge of all the “ earthⁿ ;” and who is stated by Philo himself before, to be the Logos. He comes “ as God, “ attended with his guards of two most high Powers, Dignity and Goodness; one of whom, he in “ the middle, wrought the appearance of a third “ upon the discerning soul ; every of which Powers “ is indeed un-measurable, for un-circumscribed “ also are his Powers, and they have measured the “ universe^o.” And the Logos is thus spoken of

ⁿ Gen. xviii. 25.

^o P. 139. Ο θεὸς δορυφορούμενος ὑπὸ δυνεὶν [δυν] των ανωτατω δυναμεων, αρχης τε αυ και αγαθοτητος· εις ων, ο μεσος, τριτλας φαντασιας ενεργαζεται τη ορατικη ψυχη, ων εκαστη μεμετρηται μεν εδαμως· απεριγραφοι γαρ και αι δυναμεις αυτε, μεμετρηκε δε τα ολα.

expressly

expressly as God, and (what is more) exactly as the Father has been before, being equally as he attended by the Goodness and Dignity of the Godhead; being un-measurable in himself, being un-circumscribed in them, and having measured the universe with them at the creation.—“ A man standing
“ nearest to the truth might say, The Father indeed of all is the middle, who in the sacred
“ scriptures is called by the proper name of He
“ Who Is; and on each side are the nearest and
“ oldest Powers of Him Who Is; of which one is
“ called the Making, and the other the Royal
“ Power. And the Making is *God*, for by this
“ he placed and disposed the universe; and the
“ Royal is the *Lord*, for it is just that he who made
“ should govern and command the things made.
“ Being attended therefore by these Powers, as
“ guards on each side, and being in the midst of
“ them; he exhibits to the discerning intellect, the
“ appearance sometimes of One, and sometimes of
“ Three: of One, when the soul is exactly purged,
“ and passes over not merely the multitude of
“ numbers, but even that neighbour of Unity the
“ Duality, and is led to the Idea unmixed, and uncomplicated, and of itself wanting nothing at all;
“ and of Three, when, not yet initiated in the
“ great mysteries, it has been introduced into the
“ lesser orgies only, and is not able to comprehend
“ Him Who Is, alone by himself, without some
“ other

“ other one; but, through the things done, comprehends either the Maker or the Governor P.”

This passage has been particularly adduced, as indicative of the Trinity⁹. So it seems to be, at the first survey of it. But, by collating it with the passages antecedent, we see it relates merely to the Logos. He is here accompanied again by his two Powers, Dignity and Goodness, as his guards; which are called here, as they are before, the Royal and the Making Powers. He is thus represented again, just as the Father has been before. And he

P P. 367. Τις της αληθείας εγγυτάτα ισταμεν^Θ ειποι, Πατηρ μεν των όλων ο μεσ^Θ, ος εν ταις ιεραϊς γραφαις κυριω ονοματι καλεται Ο Ων· αι δε παρ' εκατερα πρεσβυτάται και εγγυτάται τε Οντ^Θ δυναμεις· ων η μεν Ποιητικη, η δε Βασιλικη προσαγορευεται. και η μεν Ποιητικη Θε^Θ· ταυτη γαρ εθηκε τε και διεσκοσμησε το παν· η δε Βασιλικη Κυρι^Θ, θεμις γαρ αρχειν και κρατειν το πεποιηκ^Θ τε γενομεν^Θ. δορυφορευμεν^Θ εν ο μεσος υφ' εκατερας των δυναμεων, παρεχει τη ορατικη διανοια, τότε μεν εν^Θ, τότε δε τριων, φαντασιαν· εν^Θ μεν, οταν ακρως καταρθισα ψυχη, και μη μονον τα πληθη των αριθμων, αλλα και την γεστονα μοναδ^Θ δυαδα υπερβασα, προς την αμιγη, και ασυμπλοκον, και καθ' αυτην εδεν^Θ επιδεα το παραπαν, ιδεαν επειγηται· τριων δε, οταν μηπω τας μεγαλας τελεισθεισα τελετας, ετι εν ταις βραχυτεραις οργιαζηται, και μη δυνηται Το Ον ανευ ετερ^Θ τιν^Θ εξ αυτη μον^Θ καταλαβειν, αλλα δια των δρωμενων η κλιζον παρχον.

⁹ By Dr. Randolph in his answer to Essay on Spirit, part 1st. p. 29; an author, who is allowed by Arianism itself, to have been “ the “ only *able* and *formidable* antagonist” of the Essay (Biog. Brit. iii. 623. CLAYTON, 1784); and of whom I am happy to record, that he was a sound scholar, a judicious divine, and, what is most to his praise, a good man. He had particularly that extent of scholarship, and that solidity of judgment, which were sure to keep him from the absurdities of Arianism, and also to make him an “ able and formidable antagonist” to the Arians.

is expressly denominated “ the Father of all,” and “ He Who Is;” appellations, which Philo has hitherto appropriated and confined to God the Father. He is also said to have “ placed and disposed the “ universe,” by his power as “ God;” and to “ govern and command the things made,” by his power as “ Lord.” And he is described, as exhibiting the appearance of One, when he is considered in and by himself; and of Three, when he is viewed relatively to his works, and considered in his creative and in his governing capacities, as well as in his personal. So much does the Logos finally *seem*, in the *language* of Philo, to be the same with the Father himself, and even to absorb the whole Trinity in his own person! So much does the Logos finally *appear*, in the *sentiments* of Philo, to be the ostensible, the interposing, the energetick God of the universe! And so fully and completely is the Logos here shown from all, to have been the personal Creator of the world to the Jews, the personal Governor of the world to all mankind, and the acting God, the Deputy and the Equal of God the Father, to the Jews and to all mankind through all ages^r!”

CHAPTER

^r To these historical proofs of the positive Divinity of God the Son, let me subjoin a note in opposition to those, who so far unite with the church and with truth, as to allow the Logos to have been the visible God of the Old Testament; and yet so far recoil from both, as to assert him to have been only an angel by nature, and a
God

CHAPTER THE THIRD.

— I. —

WE have now seen the opinions of the Jews at Jerufalem in the days of our Saviour, and concerning the Divinity of the Son of God; all repeatedly

God by investiture. This wild whimsy, which was first suggested in our own country (I believe) by Sir Isaac Newton, in his fiction of a *Quasi Deus*; has been since moulded into form, by Bishop Clayton in his Essay on Spirit, and by Mr. Taylor in his letters from Ben. Mordecai. What I have already said, sufficiently precludes the arguments of both. But let me now reply to them briefly. The former work indeed has been some time resigned up to the shades, from which it came. I will not disturb its repose. “I war not with the “dead.” But, as the latter is yet “moving betwixt earth and heaven,” it may be useful to make a few remarks upon it. A few will be sufficient to give it its death’s wound. And, in him, I shall answer the Essayist and *all these Semi-arians*.

“The word JEHOVAH,” says Mr. Taylor, “is the PROPER
“name of the SELF-EXISTENT God, and is APPROPRIATED to Him
“ALONE” (1. 403). “It appears from the scriptures, that the
“word Elohim, God, does not include in it always the idea of *Supremacy* and *Self-existence*, as THE WORD JEHOVAH DOES; and
“may therefore be applied to other beings, who are *not* supreme nor
“self-existent” (1. 405). “The charge of Polytheism against the
“Christians, arises from not distinguishing the different senses of
“the word Θεός, Deus, God, as used in the scriptures; sometimes in
“the sense of the word Elohim, in which sense there are many gods;
“and sometimes in the sense of JEHOVAH, in which THERE IS BUT
“ONE. But as long as the Christians observe this distinction, and
“allow of but One Supreme God, but ONE Self-existent JEHOVAH;

peatedly echoed back in the sentiments of the Jews at Alexandria, co-temporary with the apostles.
Philo

“ there is not the least ground for any such charge. And all those
“ who argue, from confounding these two senses of the word God,
“ that there is but one Elohim, because there is but ONE JEHOVAH;
“ and that CHRIST cannot be God, Elohim, *except* he be JEHO-
“ VAH, the SUPREME SELF-EXISTENT GOD;” do argue falsely
(1. 407). And “ those who carefully distinguish the two senses of the
“ word God, as they are used in the scriptures; and believe that
“ CHRIST was invested with the name of God, “ because he was so
“ faithful, because he assumed nothing to himself, that he might
“ fulfil the commands of him that sent him;” that he has all his
“ titles, viz. Son of God, Lord, Word, &c. from his being “ be-
“ gotten of the Father by his will;” and that he is Lord of Hosts,
“ *κυριος δυναμεων*, by the will of the Father that giveth him power;
“ and that he is constituted Almighty by the Father and Lord of
“ the whole creation: cannot attribute the same honour to all Be-
“ ings, who have the name of God; but believe in ONE JEHOVAH,
“ who is SELF-EXISTENT AND SUPREME over all, to whom all
“ other Beings in the universe, though called by the name of God,
“ Elohim, even CHRIST himself, are subject” (1. 409). I have
produced these extracts at full length, in order to demonstrate from
them the grand point aimed at by Mr. Taylor here. God the Fa-
ther is here represented, as THE ONE ONLY JEHOVAH; because he
is the *Supreme* and the *Self-existent* God. That is his “ proper”
name. And “ to Him *alone* it is appropriated.” Nor is this said
only here. It is the substantial principle, the vital spark, of all Mr.
Taylor’s Arianism. And it is that by which he distinguishes
throughout the remainder, the nominal Divinity of his created Logos
from the genuine Divinity of his Creator God.

Yet is this very principle in absolute contradiction, to all the pre-
ceding parts of his work. The main design of all before is to show,
that the Logos was *the visible Jehovah of the Old Testament*. Thus
in 1. 227 we read of “ the frequent appearance of JEHOVAH, and
“ the many conversations which we are told of between God and
“ man: that JEHOVAH walked in the Garden of Eden in the cool

“ of

Philo has historically proved, a very useful commentator upon the Evangelists. But from these works

“ of the day, and passed judgment on Adam and Eve [Gen. iii. 8, &c.]; *and* came down to see the tower which the children of men builded in the days of Peleg [xi. 5]; *and* appeared to Abraham as a man accompanied with two angels, in the plains of Mamre (xviii. 1, 2); *and* spake to Moses out of the bush [Ex. iii. 2, 4]; *and* went before the Israelites in a pillar of a cloud by day, and in a pillar of fire by night (xiii. 21); *and* was afflicted in all their afflictions (Is. lxiii. 9); *and* appeared to Moses, Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and the seventy elders of Israel (Ex. xxiv. 10); *and* descended on Mount Sinai, to give the law (xix); *and* was heard by the children of Israel to speak with a great voice (Deut. v. 22); *and* resided in the tabernacle (Ex. xxv. 22); *and* promised that he would return again, and reside among men in the latter day (Jer. xxxi. 31); *and* renewed that promise (Zech. ii. 10, 11) in the days of Darius Hystaspis, about 500 years before the Christian æra.” “ It becomes both Jews and Christians,” he argues from all, “ to consider how such actions can possibly be performed by JEHOVAH; for they are both agreed, that the history is true, and yet that THE SUPREME SELF-EXISTENT GOD of the universe hath never been *seen* or *heard* at any time” (1. 229—230). If then “ JEHOVAH so often appeared to our fathers, and conversed with them; and yet—the Supreme God and Father of the universe was never seen by any one, nor his voice heard; there must be without doubt SOME OTHER PERSON, besides the Supreme God and Father of the universe, WHO IS CALLED BY THAT NAME” (1. 232). And in 1. 246 we have “ the JEHOVAH ANGEL speaking in the first person in the name of God; and so HE speaks to Nicodemus Jo. iii.”

Here then we have a gross and massy contradiction. That name which is “ proper” to God the Father, and “ is appropriated to him alone;” and which indeed *must* be so proper, and so appropriated, *because* it includes in it “ the idea of supremacy and self-existence,” those exclusive characters of God the Father; is yet, we *now* find, *not* “ proper,” and *not* “ appropriated” to

works of his, we now pass to others; to show how much later than these, the Jews continued in the same

God the Father, but *given repeatedly to God the Son*. HE, we now find, was the JEHOVAH, whom we see so frequently appearing "in the books of Moses." HE was the JEHOVAH, who by the prophet Jeremiah "promised, that he would return again, and reside among men in the latter day." HE too was the JEHOVAH, who by the prophet Zechariah "renewed that promise in the days of Darius Hystaspis, about 500 years before the Christian æra." HE was even "called" expressly "by that name" of JEHOVAH, and was "the Jehovah Angel" in reality. And HE was therefore, by fair inference from all, *that very Supreme and Self-existent God*, which the word JEHOVAH (according to Mr. Taylor) implies the bearer to be, which Mr. Taylor *at times* so unjustly charges the orthodox with thinking him, and which yet he himself most astonishingly makes him. Mr. Taylor thus sets up the two parts of his work, like a couple of nine-pins; to impinge upon each other directly, and to beat down each other effectually.

Nor is this contradiction, however palpable and big, such an incidental stroke of inadvertency, as an intellect not very distinguishing may occasionally commit. No! It is such, as only a very confused one could possibly exhibit at all. It affects Mr. Taylor's *main* principle. It results from his *original* ideas. And it is the necessary consequence, of his *whole* system of *Arianism*. When our Saviour is allowed, as *even Arianism itself cannot any longer deny him*, to be the visible and acting Jehovah of the Old Testament; all attempts to give him less than a positive and substantial Divinity, must inevitably recoil in a full charge of contradictoriness, upon the body of the attempter.

Having said this, I need not press a single point more. I have said enough to show the incompetency of Mr. Taylor's abilities, if any abilities could be competent, for defending such a cause as his. But I wish to notice the Apollinarian absurdity, of our Saviour having no *soul*; the Logos, *a distinct person*, supplying (it seems) the place of a soul to him (1. 99): when our Saviour himself *confessedly* says, "my *soul* is exceedingly sorrowful even unto death,"

same sentiments, and adhered to the same opinions. And let us first add to the various extracts from the

“death,” and cries out equally with *St. Stephen*, “Father, into thy hands I commend my *spirit* ;” when one of the evangelists says of Him equally as of the *Baptist*, “He waxed strong in *spirit* ;” and when all say at his death, “He gave up the *ghost* .” I wish also to notice that strange assumption, derived expressly from Sir Isaac Newton, calculated only to bolster up a sinking cause, and proving how weakly a wise man can think when he is an Arian ; which says “the Being who governs all things as Lord of the universe, is stiled “Lord God upon account of his *dominion*, for the word God is a “*relative term*” (1. 397—398) : a principle, which is big with infinite monstrosity ; which lays the *existence* of God himself, dependent upon that of his creatures ; which gives him no existence, *till* he has *exerted his existence* in forming creatures ; which either makes God begin to exist *in time* together with his creatures, or makes his creatures to be *co-eternal* in existence with him ; and so either deifies *them*, or undeifies *him*. I wish too to mark Mr. Taylor’s defence of *praying* to the Logos, though *wholly a creature*, in 1. 410, &c. ; when in 1. 90—92, he contrarily *abuses* the orthodox, for praying to him as *partially* so ; because, “if they worship Christ as *God* and *man*, “they worship the creature *as well as* the Creator.” And I wish at the close to exhibit his whole doctrine of Arianism, as inextricably involved in contradictions and absurdities. We accordingly see him, affirming there is only *one* Jehovah, and yet holding out *two* to us. We hear him saying, “Christ—is LORD OF HOSTS, *κυριος δυναμεων*, by the will of the Father that giveth him power” (1. 409), and so distinguishing him directly from the Father “the one “Jehovah” (ibid. ibid.) ; when this very title of Lord of Hosts is JEHOVAH OF HOSTS in the original, and when it is expressly declared to be so by Mr. Taylor himself ; the word *Lord*, or *κυριος*, being actually shown by him, to be a translation for *Jehovah* in general (1. 278—280), and that particular passage in Hosea, xii. 5, “the “Lord God of Hosts,” being actually rendered by him “*Jehovah* “God of Hosts” (1. 265). We find him exhibiting to us a *Jehovah*, who was an *angel* ; a *Supreme*, who was a *creature* ; a *Self-existent*,

the early and known works of Philo, a few from a single and later work of his, that does not profess to

existent, who was *made*; an *Almighty*, who was *constituted*; and an *Eternal*, who was formed *in time* (1. 160). In his work we behold a Being, who, as a *creature*, exists by an extraneous operation of God, *made every moment*, and therefore *intermittible at pleasure*; and who is also "Lord" or *Jehovah* "of Hosts," *by the same power so made and so intermittible*, because he "is Lord of Hosts by the will of the Father that giveth him power" (1. 409). Even in God the *Father* himself, we here contemplate a *relative*, a *contingent* God; who began to exist, only *when* he had created subjects to himself; who must therefore have acted *before* he existed; and is sure, if his creatures were annihilated to-morrow, to be to-morrow annihilated himself. We have the Son of God "invested with the *name* of God, "because he was so faithful, because he assumed nothing to himself, "that he might fulfil the commands of him that sent him" (1. 409); and, consequently, *after* he had been faithful, *after* he had assumed nothing, and *after* he had been sent; "the reward of his love to man and obedience to God being *deferred*, till he should be made "perfect—by—greater sufferings,—*when—God—sent* him into the "world" (1. 260—261). Yet the same Son of God, we find, was *many ages before* the visible *Jehovah* of the Old Testament; had "power—in a peculiar manner over the Jews, as their *God* and King" (1. 261); and even then announced himself, to be the great "I Am" (1. 245). Thus, he, who had not the very *name* of God till he was incarnated, yet was the actual *God* of the Jews near 1500 years preceding, even bore the high and appropriate *name* of *Jehovah* then, and even assumed that still higher and more appropriate *name* of *Deity*, "I Am." We have also a Being, who was the *Creature God* of the Jews, and the *Creature God* of the patriarchs; the *created* Lord of the creation, at present; and the *created* Creator of it, at first. And we have finally a Being, who particularly delivered the law on Mount Sinai (1. 127); who therefore uttered this command to the Jews at the time, "I AM THE LORD "THY GOD,—THOU SHALT HAVE NONE OTHER GODS BUT "ME;" and who thus presumed, though an *angel* only, to shut out God

to be, and yet is assuredly, so. That apocryphal book, THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON, was professedly written in the name of Solomon; but is attributed to Philo by some of the first-rate authors in Christian antiquity, Basil, Jerome, and Austin^s. The tradition of his writing the work, was accordingly continued through the middle ages^t. And so impressed was this upon the general mind, that the work was cited at times by the very appellation of Philo^u.

Yet a learned and thinking divine has ventured, to call this tradition a mere “dream;” and appeals to “most certain evidences,” without any specifick reference, for the much higher antiquity of the work^x. If the Book of Wisdom *be* much older than Philo, any passages in it serve strongly to corroborate my general argument, by carrying to a

God from his Jewish part of the creation, to intercept the whole worship of the Jews from him, and to confine it all to himself; sinking *them* into absolute idolaters, and exalting *himself* into a very Lucifer over them. Never surely does the human mind expose its own futility and folly so much, as when it deserts the publick road of theology, and ventures to strike out a bye-path for its movements; entangling itself with briars and thorns, falling at every step over stumps of trees, and losing itself at last in an impracticable wilderness.

^s See ix. 7—8 for the assumed character of Solomon, besides the title; and see Cofin’s History of the Canon of Scripture (edit. 1683), p. 24 and 196, for these authors.

^t Cofin, p. 170 and 197.

^u Cofin, p. 163.

^x Bull, p. 14. His reason probably for speaking so, was one which is answered in a note of next section,

still

still higher period the Jewish notions of Divinity in the Messiah. Thus, in that other piece of Apocryphal Scripture, which was written no less than two hundred and sixty years before our Saviour, the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach; the author represents himself, as addressing a prayer to God in this form. "I called," he says, "upon the Lord
 "THE FATHER OF MY LORD, that he would not
 "leave me in the days of my trouble^y." The Jew, we see, even then prayed in the *Christian* manner; owning a *second* person in the Godhead, and praying to the first as the *father* of the second; acknowledging the first, under his equally Jewish and Christian appellation, of Lord or *the* Lord; and acknowledging the second, under his appropriating and Christian denomination at present, of *our* Lord^z. In the very same terms, according to our Saviour's own interpretation of them, and agreeably to the received construction of them at the time, does David speak of the very same persons in the Godhead, eight hundred years before the son of Sirach; when he tells us concerning the Messiah, that "*the* Lord said to *my* Lord, Sit thou on my

^y Chap. li. 10. And in the "prologue" says the author: "in
 "the eight and thirtieth year coming into Egypt, when Euergetes
 "was king, and continuing there some time, I found a book,
 " &c."

^z "R. Azariah de Rubeis in his book Meor Enaiim, ch. 22.
 "witnesseth, that Ecclesiasticus is not rejected *now* by the Jews,
 "but is received among them *with an unanimous consent*" (Allix's
 Judgment, p. 68).

"right-

“right-hand, till I make thine enemies thy foot-
“stool^a.” And the mother of the Baptist suitably
calls the Virgin Mary, “the mother of *my* Lord^b.”
Yet, what is more wonderful, the very Heathens of
Assyria, near six hundred years before our Saviour,
familiarily knew this second person in the Godhead,
knew him by his very “form” of Divinity, and
knew him too by his very title of “Son of God.”
“Lo,” cries Nebuchadnezzar “astonied, and
“rising up in haste,” after he had thrown the three
Jews into the furnace of fire; “I see *four* men
“loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and they
“have no hurt; and the FORM OF THE FOURTH IS
“LIKE THE SON OF GOD^c.” The antient Hea-
thens appear to have framed to themselves, a settled
and precise idea of resemblance for the Son of God.
Accordingly the king, starting up in an agitation
of spirits, and speaking hastily the sentiments and
language of all around him, avers the personal ap-
pearance which he here saw, to be “*like* the Son of
“God” in “form.” But the idea was common to
them and to the Jews. Hence that very Daniel,
who has recorded this averment of the king’s, does
himself describe the same personage, as “one *like*
“the Son of Man;” the titles of Son of Man and
Son of God (as I have shown before, and shall again

^a Mat. xxii. 43—44.

^b Luke i. 43.

^c Daniel iii. 25.

show hereafter) being equally applied to the Messiah; and as having "an *everlasting* dominion, which "*shall not pass away*." Nor was the idea unknown to the first Christians. St. John therefore, in his Revelations, sees "one *like* unto the Son of Man;" who says of himself, "I am he that liveth and was "dead;" and whose "countenance was, as the sun "shineth in his strength." Christians, Jews, and Heathens, derived this common idea probably, from the form of his repeated appearances to the Jews, the Patriarchs, and the Ante-diluvians. He always appeared probably with a "countenance," that "was as the sun shineth in his strength." From the firm and fixed impression, which the sensible "form" of the Son of God appears to have made, upon the universal mind of man; he certainly exhibited himself always to the eye of man, with *some* permanent and illustrious signature of identity. What then was it? Such a countenance as this, it is most likely to have been. Such a countenance we see actually appropriated to the Messiah, at his appearance in the visions of St. John. And we even see it appropriated to him again, when he resided upon earth, but while he was "transfigured" before the same John. Then "the fashion of his *countenance* was altered." Then "his *face* did" once more "shine *as the sun*." And "all the people, "when they beheld him" on his return from the mount of transfiguration, "were *greatly amazed*"
at

at the remaining "glory" of his countenance; as Nebuchadnezzar was "astonied" at the form of the Son of God, and at the sight of the three men walking with him: "and running to him—saluted him," just as Nebuchadnezzar "came near—and spake^d."

But attached to the Book of Proverbs are some of Solomon's, which "the men of Hezekiah king of Judah copied out," and which run from chapter xxvth to chapter xxixth inclusively. Then come the words of Agur and of Lemuel's mother, in two chapters attached to all. Of what date the latter additions are, it is difficult to say. But that they are not later than Ezra, is evident from their appearance as a part of the Jewish canon. In these Agur, a name familiar among us from his magnanimous selection of the middle state of life, but a person totally unknown in his origin and connections; is introduced speaking in this magnificent language of interrogation, concerning the majesty of God and the pettiness of man. "Who," he asks, "hath ascended up into heaven," to gain a proper knowledge of God; "or descended," to give a proper knowledge of him to man? "Who hath gathered the wind in his fists? Who hath bound the waters in a garment? Who hath established all the ends of the earth^e? This is so similar to

^d Dan. vii. 13—14, and Rev. i. 13, 16; Luke ix. 29, Mat. xvii. 2, Mark ix. 15, and Luke ix. 32; and Dan. iii. 25.

^e Proverbs xxx. 4.

other passages of Scripture, which mark the superiority of God over man, by the same dignified appeal to the works of creation; that a critick must be cold-blooded indeed, and have lost all critical sensibility of taste, who can doubt the purport of the whole for a moment^f. “No man hath ascended up to heaven,” says our Saviour with a remarkable conformity to the first question, “but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of Man^g.” “Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand,” asks God himself in Isaiah; “and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure; and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance^h?” The Psalmist also speaks of “the earth, which God hath established for ever;” says he “laid the foundations of the earth, that it never should move at any time;” and adds to God himself, “Thou coveredst it with the deep as with a garmentⁱ.” And God, speaking to Job out of the whirlwind, asks: “Where wast thou, when I laid the foundations of the earth? Declare, if thou hast understanding.—Or who shut up the sea with doors, when it brake forth as if it had issued out of the womb” of nature?

^f As Patrick has doubted.

^g John iii. 13.

^h Isaiah xl. 12. ⁱ Psalm lxxviii. 69 and civ. 5—6. The Liturgical version of lxxviii. 69, “the ground which he hath made continually,” is too equivocal in meaning to be cited.

“When

“ When I made the cloud the garment thereof, and
 “ thick darkness a swaddling-band for it?—De-
 “ clare, if thou knowest it all^k.” In these passages
 there is a vein of majestic sublimity concerning
 God, which exceeds the highest sublimity of Hea-
 then writings, as much as the upward flight of an
 eagle is above the ascent of a mere sparrow. The
 mind of man seems to expand and swell, beyond all
 its dimensions before; with the grandeur of the ideas
 infused into it. And these passages unite in refer-
 ring the correspondent questions of the Proverbs,
 to their only object, the Lord of the universe, and
 the Center of all greatness. But the questions go
 on farther thus, concerning this awful Being:
 “ What is HIS name, and what is HIS SON’s name,
 “ if thou canst tell?” So, another Scripture assures
 us, “ Jacob asked him and said, Tell me I pray
 “ thee thy *name*; and he said, Wherefore is it that
 “ thou dost ask after my *name*? And he blessed him
 “ there; and Jacob called the name of the place
 “ *Peniel*, for I have seen God face to face, and my
 “ life is preserved^l.” The more antient rabbies of
 the Jews, and one even more antient than they,
 Philo, show their countrymen to have originally
 interpreted this very Being, whose name Jacob
 asked, to be the *Logos* himself; the very same,
 whose name is here asked with the name of God the

^k Job xxxviii. 4, 8, 18.

^l Gen. xxxii. 29—30.

Father by Agur, as being God himself *because* he is the Son of God^m. And Agur concurs with David, with the Son of Sirach, and with Zecharias, to show the belief of the Jews before the birth of our Saviour, in a SON OF GOD; whose name was equally unsearchable with that of God the Father himself, who was equally with him a LORD to man, and who was peculiarly THE LORD OF MAN.

Nor were even the Heathens of our western Europe, ignorant of him. To prove this, I shall produce Epicharmus, who lived among the Greeks of Sicily about four centuries and a half before our Saviour; and who speaks of the Logos expressly, as the author of reason to man, and the additional intimator of all the useful arts of life to him.

If men have powers of reason, they have too
 THE HEAVENLY LOGOS: for life's changeful scenes
 Was reason planted in the frame of men;
 THE HEAVENLY LOGOS waits on all their arts,
 Himself suggesting what they ought to do:
 For man invented not a single art,
 But 'tis THE GOD who first produces it;
 And man's own reason planted was in man,
 By the great LOGOS and his HAND DIVINEⁿ.

Epicharmus

^m Ainsworth, p. 121, and Sect. viith, of the chapter immediately preceding.

ⁿ Εἰ ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ λογισμὸς, ἐστὶ καὶ θεῖος λόγος·
 Ὁ λόγος ἀνθρώπῳ πεφυκέν περὶ βίᾳ καὶ ἀστροφᾷ·
 Ὁ δὲ γε τὰς τέχνας ἀπασὶ συνεπέλαί θεῖος λόγος,
 Ἐκδιδάσκων αἰεὶ αὐτὸς αὐτῶς ὅ τι ποιεῖν δεῖ συμφέρον.

Οὐ

Epicharmus thus makes his God Logos, to be at once the *Apollo* and the *Pallas* of Heathen antiquity. And “ I have filled Bezaleel,” in an exact correspondence says the same Logos to Moses, “ with
“ the spirit of God, in wisdom, and in understand-
“ ing, and in knowledge, and in all manner of
“ workmanship; to devise cunning works; to work
“ in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in cut-
“ ting of stones to set them, and in carving of tim-
“ ber; to work in all manner of workmanship.” And the particular enumeration in the sacred writer, wonderfully accords with the general assertion of the profane; in this new addition of character to the Logos, by making him the Inspirer and Patron of all the arts of man. To Epicharmus I shall add that famous prophetess of Heathenism, the Sibyll; not indeed as her verses are recorded by Lactantius, who, in the indolence of an establishment now gained for Christianity, has certainly mistaken for Sibylline what is merely the Scripture History in verse; and not even as they are transmitted to us, by Theophilus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and

Οὐ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος τέχνας εὖρ· ὁ δὲ θεὸς ταύτας φέρει.

Ὁ δὲ γε τανθρώπων λόγος πεφυκ' ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν λόγῳ.

Clemens Alexandrinus, p. 719—720. There is a various reading in the end of the second line. I have taken that, which makes the best sense. The passage is also in Eusebius, p. 399. *Evang. Prepar.* And see p. 353 of Clemens, for Epicharmus being cotemporary with Hiero king of Syracuse.

• Exodus xxxi. 3—5.

K

Justin,

Justin, who, writing under the tyranny of Heathenism, and boldly appealing to this evidence against it, would not suffer themselves to be deceived, and would not have been suffered (if they had) to deceive others^p; but as they actually appear in a Heathen writing, about forty years prior to our Saviour. Virgil, in that very extraordinary pastoral, by which he has at once recorded his own abject obsequiousness of spirit, and preserved some amazing prophecies of an Italian concerning our Saviour's coming; has particularly and pointedly marked his Godhead. "A NEW SORT OF MAN," he cries, alluding to that mysterious complication of natures which forms a God-man, "is now descending from *high heaven*—; he shall *share* in the "happiness of the Gods, shall see the *heroes* of the "world advanced among the Gods, and SHALL BE "ADVANCED AMONG THEM HIMSELF; and he shall "GOVERN THE GLOBE in peace with THE VIRTUES "OF HIS FATHER:—the time is coming; oh! rise "and assert the mighty honours due unto thee, "thou BELOVED OFFSPRING OF THE GODS, thou "MIGHTY SON OF JOVE^q." Here those unequivocal

^p See Bull, p. 378—381.

^q Jam nova progenies coelo demittitur alto;

.
Ille Deum vitam accipiet, Divisque videbit
Permixtos heroas, et ipse videbitur illis;

Pacatumque

vocal signatures of Divinity, the filial relation of this Being to the Godhead, and the sovereignty ceded to him over the whole world, mark him indubitably for a God; for a sharer in the nature, and a partaker in the supremacy, of the Jehovah or Jove of heaven. Nor could a Heathen have foretold the coming appearance of this God, in the vesture of humanity; the heroical conduct which he was to exhibit, before his brothers of the body; and the high honours which he was to receive for it, by the exaltation of his assumed nature, to a seat with his original on the throne of the Godhead; in language more apposite to the history than this, and therefore more expressive of the Man-God. And this evidence unites with the speech of Nebuchadnezzar, and with the verses of Epicharmus, before; to show the Heathens equally informed with the Jews, in the main elements of the system of Redemption; and as a constituent, an essential, and a capital point of all, in the con-substantial Divinity of the Great Redeemer.

Such would be the evidence for that Divinity, to accompany the Book of Wisdom; if we considered it to be as old as Solomon, or only as the Son of Sirach. But I consider it to be much later than

Pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem.

.....

Aggredere ô magnos, aderit jam tempus, honores,

Cara Deûm soboles, magnum Jovis incrementum.

Eclog. ivth.

K 2

either,

either, and actually a work of Philo's. Tradition, that useful echo of history, has pronounced it his. Where the original voice cannot be heard, we must take the reverberation of it. This becomes decisive, when the work says nothing to the contrary. But the Wisdom of Solomon says much, in favour of the tradition. The language is very similar to Philo's; flowing, lively, and happy. And the sentiments are equally similar; refined, religious, and dignified. There is also the same fondness for music, the same sort of observations concerning the plagues of Egypt, the same kind of explanation concerning the high-priest's dress, and many other samenesses of thought and fancy^r. The work too alludes in one place to the days of the Gospel, as evidently as the personated character of Solomon would allow it to do. The righteous man is shadowed out by the author, with a plain reference to our Saviour himself. "Let us lie in wait for the righteous," say the wicked; "—he *upbraids* us with our offending the law, and *objects to* our infamy the transgressions of our education." The righteous man of this work, therefore, is not a man merely righteous in himself. He is intimated, to be equally a *preacher* of righteousness to

^r Philo, p. 620, 671, 675, and 823, compared with Wisdom xviii. 24, &c. And see also Arnold's useful Comment on the Book of Wisdom, p. ix, xxvii—xxix, 17, 24, 31, 32, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 49, 54, &c. edit. 1744.

others.

others. “ He *professeth* to have the *knowledge* of “ God.” This carries on the same intimation, of his being *officially* like our Saviour. “ He calleth “ himself *the* child of God.” This marks the preacher, to be *essentially* similar to our Saviour. “ He *pronounceth* the end of the just to be blessed,” the official character being still supported in him ; “ and maketh his boast, that God is *his Father*,” the essential similarity being more strongly suggested still. “ Let us see if his words be true, and let “ us prove what shall happen in the end of him ; “ for, if the just man be THE SON OF GOD, he “ will help him, and deliver him out of the hand “ of his enemies.” We have thus the very appellation of our Saviour, his distinguishing title among the Jews, attributed in a seemingly easy and incidental manner to this just man. This is so pointed an indication, as marks the design at once. But we may additionally observe, that the very words, here used to the just man, were actually used *to our Saviour*. “ He trusted in God,” cried the Jewish wretches at his crucifixion ; “ let him deliver him “ if he will have him ; for he said, I am the Son “ of God^s.” Nor is the work content, with merely doing this. It touches upon other circumstances of our Saviour’s sufferings ; and *then* proceeds to those of his followers. “ Let us *examine*

^s Mat. xxvii. 43.

“ him,” they still cry, “ with *despitefulness* and *tor-*
 “ *ture*,” alluding to the insults and the scourging
 used to our Saviour^t; “ that we may *know* his
 “ *meekness* and *prove* his *patience*.” And, as they
 finally say, “ let us *condemn* him with a shameful
 “ *death* ;” in allusion to his crucifixion. The
 work thus draws the profile of our Saviour, in its
 portrait of a righteous man. But it goes on im-
 mediately, to shade out in the same manner the
 face of the first Christians. The stile therefore is
instantly changed. The *one* of the preceding passages,
 is multiplied into *many*. “ The souls of the righte-
 “ *ous*,” says the author, “ are in the hand of God,
 “ and there shall no *torment* touch them; in the
 “ *fight* of the unwise they seemed to die, and their
 “ *departure* is taken for misery, and their going
 “ *from us* to be utter destruction; but they are in
 “ *peace*: for though they be punished in the *fight*
 “ *of men*, yet is their hope full of immortality:
 “ and having been a little chastised, they shall be
 “ *greatly rewarded*; for God proved them, and
 “ *found them worthy* for himself; as gold in the
 “ *furnace* hath he tried them, and received them
 “ *as a burnt-offering*; and *in the time of their vi-*
 “ *sitation* they shall shine, and *run to and fro* like
 “ *sparks among the stubble*; they shall *judge the na-*
 “ *tions*, and *have dominion over the people*; and their

^t ὅρσει καὶ ῥασανῶ εἰσωμεν αὐτον, explained by Acts xxii. 29. οἱ
 μελλοντες αὐτον ἀνελαιζειν, and 24. μαρτυριῶν ἀνελαιζεσθαι.

“ Lord shall reign for ever^u.” I have cited the passage at full length, that my reader may mark the regular harmony of the whole, and the full diapason at the close. The animating promise of our Saviour to his disciples, that, at the end of the world, “ shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the “ kingdom of their Father^x ;” is obviously though faintly reflected, in this prophecy allusive to the clearing of stubble-land by burning, of their “ shining, and running to and fro, like sparks among “ the stubble.” But that they shall “ judge the “ nations, and have dominion over the people,” is evidently nothing more than a repetition, of that awful and amazing prediction of our Saviour’s; “ Ye which have followed me in the regeneration, “ when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of “ his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, “ judging the twelve tribes of Israel ;” enlarged as it is by St. Paul’s question, “ Do ye not know that “ the saints shall judge the *world*^y ?” And the secret allusion to this mysterious revelation from the lips of our Saviour, and the silent reference to this extraordinary belief in the minds of the first Christians, unite to give us an incontestable evidence ; that the Wisdom of Solomon was written later than the days of our Saviour, and might be written, as historical report says it actually was, by Philo. The internal

^u Chap. ii. 12, 13, 16—19, iii. 1—8.

^x Mat. xiii. 43.

^y Mat. xix. 28 and 1 Cor. vi. 2.

evidence agrees with the external, to fix it firmly upon him^z.

We thus give him the honour of a composition, which raises him higher in the estimation of the world, as a man of elegance and genius; than all his other works together. But when is this masterpiece of his first cited, and when was it first inserted in the Apocrypha? It appears to be tacitly cited in a passage of Barnabas's epistle, in which the appeal is expressly to a prophet, and actually to Isaiah; but the quotation is lengthened out, from a coincidence in the sentiments and a failure in the memory, with the very words of Philo. This marks his book as then inserted in the code of Scripture, though not in the canonical part of it. The words of it thus chimed imperceptibly upon the ears of Barnabas, and were thus mixed insensibly in the remembrances of Barnabas, with the real words of

^z In xv. 14 the author notices to God, "all the enemies of thy people, that *hold* them in subjection." The word in the original is καὶ ἀδυναστεύοντες, who have *now for some time held* them in subjection. And as this marks a period of *passive* submission to the Heathens, which now existed, and had existed for some time; it points at the power of the Romans over the Jews, and forms an historical testimony exactly concurrent with all. For the compatibility of Philo's age with all this, see a note in the next section. The book is accordingly inserted in the Vulgate, with this title to it; "Sapientia juxta Græcos Salomonis, juxta alios Philonis." See Table of Contents. The "prologus" also says from St. Jerome, "Hunc Judæi Philonis esse affirmant." See p. 427. edit. 1541. And the "prologus" equally adds from St. Jerome, that "in eâ Christi adventus—et passio diligenter exprimitur."

inspiration.

inspiration. And, as Clemens Romanus refers expressly to the two companions of this book in the Apocrypha, the books of Judith and Esther; so has he some coincidences of thought and language, that seem to have been suggested in the same unnoticed manner to his mind. The Book of Wisdom is accordingly cited afterwards in form, by Cyprian, Eusebius, Athanasius, and others; as a scriptural, but not a canonical, composition; as one that lay ready to their eye and hand in the volume of inspiration, but as not claiming the rank and prerogative of an inspired book there^a.

In this lively and dignified exhortation to religion, Philo, with his usual vein of allegorical refinement; and with the same confusion at times, in which he has occasionally spoken of the Logos before, now speaking of the Person in the Godhead, then of the Attribute in it, and sometimes of the Quality in his

^a Ruffel's Patres Apostol. i. Barnabas. p. 18. Λεγει γαρ ο Προφητης επι τον Ισραηλ, και τη ψυχη αυτων, οτι Βεβαλυνται Βαλην πονηραν καθ' αυτον, ειποντες, Δησωμεν τον δικαιον, οτι δυσχερης ος ημιν εστι. The two first clauses of this citation, are literally in the Septuagint version of Isaiah iii. 9; and the two last are thus, in that of the Book of Wisdom ii. 12, Ενεδρευσωμεν δε τον δικαιον, οτι δυσχερης ος ημιν εστι. In Ep. i. p. 205. Clement says, Ισθιθ η μακαρια, κ. λ. λ, and εχ ητλον αυ και η τελεια καλα πισιν Εσθηρ, κ. λ. λ. His seeming citations from the Book of Wisdom, are in p. 17 and 113. And see Cosin, p. 39, 40, 47, 49, 52, 57, 64, 68, 72, and 32. The method above, of accounting for the intermixture of canonical and uncanonical passages in Barnabas, seems to be the only natural one; and it solves all difficulties arising from the certain fact, in an easy and effectual manner.

creatures;

creatures; expatiates repeatedly on a Being, whom he denotes at first by the name of WISDOM, afterwards by the appellation of LOGOS or WORD, just as Philo has done already, and at last, like him too, by the denomination of GOD or LORD. In the first ten chapters, this venerable personage wears the title of Wisdom; and is only once glanced at through the whole, under that of the Word. Then *that* appellation is discontinued, and *this* is adopted. And both are sunk entirely through all the rest of the work, in the denomination of Lord or God. The Wisdom of the first half, however, is plainly characterized with the Logos or Word as a Divine Being, ministerial to God, and yet God himself. A variety of actions is attributed to the Logos and to him, that mark the Divinity of both precisely. Yet the one is the Wisdom *of* God, and the other is the Word *of* the Lord. Both are as apparently the same person in this author, as they are in Philo and the Evangelists. And both are equally absorbed at the close, in the engulphing vortex of the Godhead.

I begin first with the Logos or WORD, as most familiar to us at present. This person we have already seen invested, with all the attributes of the Deity. We equally see him invested here. We have particularly beheld him the visible and acting Jehovah of the Jews, in all ages of their history. The present writer has accordingly singled out one
point

point of this history, and referred it directly to the WORD. When the Jews in the wilderness murmured against their God, "they murmured," says the Chaldee paraphrast, "against the WORD of the Lord;" and it was "the WORD of the Lord," he adds, who "sent fiery serpents among the people" to punish them. But we are taught the same principle of historical faith, by an authority still higher than he. "Neither tempt ye CHRIST," advises St. Paul, "as *some of them* also tempted, "and *were destroyed of serpents.*" But, as the Psalmist lengthens on the train of information, concerning those who were bitten and not yet dead; "God sent his WORD, and healed them; and they were saved from their destruction." They were saved by that ascertained symbol of our Saviour, a serpent of brass, erected upon a pillar of wood, and exhibited to the eyes of the wounded. This was a visible and bodily memorial, of the immediate presence of the Logos with them; and an assimilated medium, by which his healing powers were conveyed to them. "Whosoever shall be bitten by a serpent," as the Chaldee Paraphrast explains the instituting command of God, "and shall look upon this; he shall then live, if his heart shall be directed to the name of the WORD of the Lord." "It happened," as he goes on to explain the actual efficacy of this temporary kind of sacrament, "that when a serpent bit a man, and he fixed his
" eyes

“ eyes on that brazen serpent, and his heart was
 “ intent upon the name of the WORD of the Lord;
 “ he lived.” And, in the same language and with
 the same ideas, does the Wisdom of Solomon speak
 of this mysterious fact. “ When—they perished
 “ with the stings of crooked serpents,” it tells us in
 an address to God, “ *thy* wrath endured not for
 “ ever; but they were troubled for a small season,
 “ that they might be admonished, having *a sign of*
 “ *salvation*, to put them in remembrance of the
 “ commandment of *thy* law: for he, that turned
 “ himself toward it, was not saved by the thing that
 “ he saw, but by *thee*, who art THE SAVIOUR OF
 “ ALL:—it was neither herb nor mollifying plaister,
 “ that restored them to health; but thy WORD, O
 “ Lord, WHICH HEALETH ALL THINGS^b.” We
 thus see the God of the Jews, characterized for
 “ the Saviour of all;” as we have seen him cha-
 racterized before, for “ the Judge of all the
 “ earth:” and so marked by a double title, to be
 the God of the Christians. We also see God and
 his WORD, so closely interwoven (as it were) by
 identity of essence together; that the efficacy of this
 prototype of the cross, is attributed in one place to
 GOD, and in another to the WORD of God; and
 that, as the former is denominated “ the Saviour
 “ of all,” the latter is equally denominated He

^b Chap. xvi. 5—7 and 12. And see Arnold, p. 110 and 111
 —112.

“ which

“ which healeth all things.” So blended are their titles, so mixed their powers, that the Logos is God, and God is the Logos; both sharers in the Godhead, yet both distinct, distinct by difference of personality, and distinct by incidents of origin and office ^c!

In another part of his work, this writer paints the inflictions of God upon rebelling Egypt, in the most vivid colours that ever fancy lent to history. At the close of these inflictions, with the full consent of canonical Scripture, and in concurrence with the opinions of his countrymen, he states the Logos or WORD to have been the very person, that in one memorable night slew the first-born of Egypt with his hand. He therefore introduces him, with a pomp and dignity much superior to any of Homer’s Gods, to the execution of this awful vengeance. “ While all things were in quiet silence,” he says to God, “ and that Night was in the midst of her “ swift course; thine Almighty WORD leaped down “ from heaven out of thy royal throne, as a fierce “ man of war, into the midst of a land of destruc- “ tion; and brought thine unfeigned command- “ ment, as a sharp sword; and, standing up, filled “ all things with death: and it [he] touched the

^c “ The ancient Jews lookt upon the brazen serpent, as a type “ of the Messias. So we find by their Targum on Numb. xxi. 8; “ which expounds this serpent which Moses lifted up, by *the Word* “ *of the Lord*” (Allix’s Judgment, p. 60).

“ heaven

“ heaven, but it [he] stood upon the earth.” Here the imagery is uncommonly bold and magnificent. It mounts beyond the cold atmosphere of a northern taste. It has therefore been considered by many of our modern criticks, as the mere ebullition of oriental figurativeness. But it is plainly meant as a highly poetical delineation, of the God Logos coming forward to crush the continued resistance of the Egyptians. The Chaldee Paraphrast accordingly interprets the *history* of the transaction, in the same *general* way as our author. “ In the middle of “ the night,” he tells us, “ the WORD of the Lord “ appeared against the Egyptians; his right hand “ slew the first-born of the Egyptians, and his right “ hand freed the first-born of the Israelites.” This is historically the same, but not poetically so. In the Book of Wisdom we see, we feel, we wonder at, a description so illustriously adapted to the act. We behold the Logos “ leaping down from heaven” to earth, with eagerness to quell at once this still-rising leviathan of Egypt. We behold him also “ leap- “ ing out of the royal throne” of God, into “ the “ midst of that devoted land;” or rather (as the original suggests to us in its *plural* words) “ the royal “ thrones” of God, one of the three which Scripture, Judaism, and Christianity agree to place in heaven, for each of the three persons in the Trinity; and all which united they equally agree to consider, as the one and common throne of the God-head.

head^d. There his feet “stand upon the earth,” and his head “touches the heaven.” Thus standing in the center of Egypt, and armed with “the sharp sword of God,” he “fills all things with death;” slaying the children on every side of him, and spreading the dreadful carnage through the whole circuit of Egypt. And in this account we have a specimen of Jewish sublimity, perhaps as much superiour to any sublimity of Heathenism, as the God Logos is to its Gods; and *almost* worthy of Him, who is here expressly placed “on the throne” of the Godhead in

^d So Daniel vii. 9, “the thrones were cast [set] down, and the Ancient of Days did sit” upon one of the thrones; “—his throne was like” &c. “One like the Son of Man—came to the Ancient of Days, and they brought him near before him; and there was given him” &c. v. 13—14. Wisdom, ἐκ θρόνων βασιλείων, Daniel, οἱ θρόνοι ἐβήσαν. The Jews “were divided about the thrones set Dan. vii. 9. For to what purpose *many* thrones, if there were but one person? R. Akiba maintained, that there was one for God, and another for David. He seems by David to have understood the Messias. But R. Jose looked upon this as impious; and affirmed that one of these thrones was set for God’s Justice, the other for his Mercy,” and the third assuredly for himself. “R. Akiba was at last convinced, and received this explication; which R. Eliezer son of Azariah hearing, was so far from approving of, that he sent away Akiba with indignation.—As for R. Eliezer himself, he said that these *two* thrones signified only, that there was one for God, and a footstool to it” (Allix’s Judgment, p. 325). “The thrones here mentioned import, first of all, the thrones of God and Christ,—and then those of his saints,” that of the Holy Ghost undoubtedly (Patrick on the place).

heaven,

heaven, is expressly declared to be ALMIGHTY too, and was the governing God of the universe^e.

But let us now turn from this philosophical yet familiar appellation of Logos, for the Son of God; to one, which is at least equally philosophical, and more retired from use, that of WISDOM. We have seen our Saviour, giving himself this appellation

^e The original runs thus in the main parts: ο παντοδυναμος σα λογος απ' υρανων εκ θρονων βασιλειων, απολομος πολεμισης, ες μεσον της αλεθριας ηλαλο γης, ξιφος οξυ την ανυποκριτον επιταγην σα φερων, και τας επληρωσε τα παντα θανατη· και υρανυ μεν ηπλειο, βεβηκει δ' επι γης (chap. xviii. 14—16). That he, who destroyed the first-born, is represented in Scripture to be God, and not an angel; is plain, whatever some commentators have said to the contrary, from the very history itself. “*The Lord* said unto Moses,” we are told in Exodus xi. 1 and 4: “Yet *I* will bring one plague more upon Pharaoh;” and “thus saith *the Lord*, About midnight will *I* go out into the midst of Egypt, and all the first-born in the land of Egypt shall die.” In xii. 11—13 “it is *the Lord's* passover,” says God, “for *I* will pass through the land of Egypt this night, and will smite all the first-born, both man and beast; and against the Gods of Egypt *I* will execute judgment, *I am the Lord*:—and when *I* see the blood, *I* will pass over you,—when *I* smite the land of Egypt.” In xii. “*the Lord*,” we are told, “will pass through to smite the Egyptians, and—*the Lord* will pass over the door” (12); “it is the sacrifice of *the Lord's* passover, *who* passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when *he* smote the Egyptians” (27); and “*the Lord* smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt” (29). So truly scriptural is the Book of Wisdom here; so much more so, than some Christian commentators! See Bull, p. 14, and Patrick on Exodus xi. 4. And the Chaldee Paraphrase on Exodus xii. 42, is thus in Latin: “Apparuit Sermo Domini in mediâ nocte contra Ægyptios; dextra ejus interficiebat primogenitos Egyptiorum, et dextra ejus liberabat primogenitos Israelitarum” (Arnold, p. 130).

before.

before. We have seen Philo before continuing it, in his acknowledged works. And he continues it here, in one place. "O God of my fathers," he introduces Solomon saying in prayer, "and Lord of mercy, who hast made all things with thy WORD, and ordained man through thy WISDOM^f." Philo thus shows us the national and his own belief, in the personal identity of this double-named Being. When God the Father created "all things" by his WORD, he necessarily "ordained man" too by his WORD. And the WISDOM which made man, was the very same with the WORD that formed the universe. Accordingly Philo places him on the throne of the Godhead in heaven, just as he has placed the Logos immediately before. "Give me," adds the praying Solomon, "WISDOM, that SITTETH BY THY THRONE," that is, as I have just shown before concerning the WORD, who sitteth on her own throne ranging by the side of thine, and even forming a very part of thine; "O send her out of thy holy heavens, and from THE THRONE OF THY GLORY." And we thus find WISDOM, as we have found the WORD, an assessor with God the Father on the throne of the heavens, and an assistant with God the Father in the creation of the universe. This assistance is again noticed in the prayer of Solomon, and an intima-

^f Chap. ix. 1-2.

tion given of what forms the foundation of it. "FROM THE BEGINNING," says the supplicating king, and refers evidently to the commencement of eternity, because he speaks of a period antecedent to time; "WISDOM WAS WITH THEE." He "was" "PRESENT WHEN THOU MADEST THE WORLD." He was *actively* and *efficiently* present. Thou didst "make all things with thy WORD," and thou didst "ordain man through thy WISDOM." The Son was both the WISDOM and the WORD, to the Father. He "knew," as Solomon proceeds concerning WISDOM, "what was acceptable in thy sight, and right in thy commandments;" he "knoweth thy works;" he "knoweth and understandeth ALL things^s."

But

§ Chap. ix. 4, 10, 9, and 11. The Romish church is authoritatively taught, to consider the *Wisdom* of this book as *Christ*; by these words prefixed to it in the Vulgate, from St. Jerome: "in eâ Christi adventus, qui est Sapientia Patris, et passio, diligenter exprimitur." "It may not be amiss to observe upon the Greek reading of this passage, viz. *μῦθμα σκηνῆς ἁγίας, ἣν προηλομασας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*; that—*ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* seems unnecessary after *προηλομασας*. I would therefore carry these words forwards to the beginning of the next verse, and read *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ μετὰ σὺ ἡ σοφία*" (Arnold, p. 48). And then the whole will run thus, "From the beginning Wisdom was even with thee;" and is surprizingly parallel to St. John's words, *Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν*. Even that passage concerning *Wisdom* in Ecclesiasticus xxiv. 3, "I came out of the mouth of the Most High," is thus paraphrased by the antient translator of it into Latin: "Ego ex ore altissimi prodivi, *primogenita ante omnem creaturam; Ego feci in cælis ut oriretur*"

" *lumen*

But this extrinſick WISDOM of God the Father, is alſo deſcribed by Philo, juſt as he has deſcribed the Logos; as not merely the Creator of the uni- verſe, but as the actual Pervader of it, the careful Inſpector of its inhabitants, and the exerter of an Omnipotence of power in an Omnipreſence of na- ture. “WISDOM,” he cries, “—IS THE WORKER
“OF ALL THINGS,—having ALL POWER, OVER-
“SEEING ALL THINGS, and GOING THROUGH ALL
“underſtanding, pure, and moſt ſubtil, SPIRITS;
“for WISDOM IS MORE MOVING THAN ANY MO-
“TION, ſhe PASSETH AND GOETH THROUGH ALL
“THINGS by reaſon of her pureneſs—; and ſhe
“CAN DO ALL THINGS^h.” “WISDOM,” we are alſo told, “REACHETH FROM ONE END TO AN-
“OTHER mightily, and ſweetly doth ſhe ORDER ALL
“THINGSⁱ.” This Being therefore is at once the
Providence,

“*lumen indeficiens.*” “Ex hâc autem paraphraſi auctoris,” ſays Bull, p. 203, “cujus verſionem et nos *per antiquam* agnoſcimus, et Ro-
“manæ Eccleſiæ Doctores pro authenticâ habent, liquet Inter-
“pretem ſenſiſſe, per Sapientiam ibi *intelligi* τον λογον *ſive* Filium
“Dei; et τον λογον *ideo* *primogenitum ante omnem creaturam dici*,
“quod *in principio*, veluti ex ore Dei Patris, *prodierit ad conſtituti-*
“*onem uni-verſi* cum voce illa omnipotenti, *fiat*; quâ et Deus, *in luce*
“*primigeniâ procreandâ*, uſus legitur.”

^h Chap. vii. 22—24 and 27. V. 23 in the original has theſe words, παντοδυναμον, the very word applied to the Logos before, πανεπιſκοπον, και δια παντων χωρων πνευματων, κ. λ. λ.

ⁱ Chap. viii. 1. Διατεινει δε απο περατος εις περας ευρωτας, και διοικει τα παντα χρητως. The Arabic verſion ſays, “Porrigit autem ſeſe
“ab extremo terrarum orbe ad extremum uſque integré.” And

Providence, the Presence, and the Power of God the Father.

“ Love righteousness,” says the author at the beginning, “ —think of the LORD—; for he—
 “ sheweth himself unto such as do not distrust him,
 “ for froward thoughts separate from GOD—; for
 “ into a malicious soul WISDOM shall not enter—;
 “ for WISDOM is a loving *spirit*, and will not ac-
 “ quit a blasphemer of his *words*; for GOD is wit-
 “ ness of his reins, and a true beholder of his heart,
 “ and a *bearer* of his *tongue*; for the *Spirit* of the
 “ LORD FILLETH THE WORLD, and THAT WHICH
 “ CONTAINETH,” or (as the margin more properly
 reads) that which UPHOLDETH “ ALL THINGS, hath
 “ *knowledge* of the *voice*: therefore he that *speaketh*
 “ unrighteous things cannot be hid,—and the *sound*
 “ of his *words* shall come unto the LORD.” This
 carries on the same train of ideas, as the two ex-
 tracts immediately preceding. But it enforces them,
 by a variation of the language and a repetition
 of the meaning. It gives up to the WISDOM of
 God, that essential and incommunicable prerogative
 of God, with which the very Heathens were so
 fully acquainted; of being as Seneca calls him,
 the “ permeator universitatis.” This appears from

St. Bernard paraphrases it thus: “a summo cœlo usque ad inferiores
 “ partes terræ, a maximo angulo usque ad minimum vermiculum,
 “ substantiali quâdam et ubique præsentî fortitudine; quæ utique
 “ universa potentissimè movet, ordinat, et administrat suaviter, i. e.
 “ sine necessitate aut difficultate” (Arnold, p. 41).

the

the remarkable interchange of names, here. We pass from the Lord God to WISDOM, from WISDOM to the Spirit of WISDOM and the Spirit of the Lord, and from the Spirit of the Lord to the Lord himself. All these appellations unite and center in one Being. They are only the diversified denominations of the Godhead. And we evidently see in this explaining outset of the author's work, that his WISDOM is the Word, and the Spirit of his WISDOM is the Spirit of God; that therefore WISDOM "will not acquit a blasphemer of his *words*," *because* "God—is a *bearer* of his *tongue*," *because* "the Spirit of the Lord—hath *knowledge* of the *voice*," and *because* "the *sound* of his *words* shall come unto the Lord;" and that, consequently, "the Spirit of the Lord which filleth the world, and that which upholdeth all things," is this very WISDOM, and that very Son of God, who, in the similar language of St. Paul, is even now "upholding all things by the word of his power^k."

But

^k Chap. i. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, and 9. See also Arnold, p. 38. In the original, πνεῦμα Κυρίου πεπλήρωκε τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ τὸ συνεχὸν τὰ πάντα γινώσκιν ἐχει φωνῆς. "Some manuscripts read ὁ συνεχὼν, which probably is the true reading—. Thus the Syriac and Arabic versions expound it; the former rendering, Ille qui tenet omnia, scienter habet vocem ipsius; and the latter, Et qui creaturas omnes amplectitur, possidet notitiam vocis" (Arnold, p. 4). See also Heb. i. 3. φερον. There is a very fine eulogium upon Wisdom, and very similar to this, in Proverbs viii. 22—30. "The Lord possessed me," says Wisdom herself, "in the beginning of

But we may observe the personal identity of the WISDOM and the WORD with each other, and the

“ *his way*, before his *works of old*. I was set up from EVERLAST-
 “ ING, from the *beginning*, or ever the earth was. When there
 “ were no depths, I was *brought forth*; when there were no foun-
 “ tains abounding with water. Before the mountains were settled,
 “ before the hills, was I *brought forth*: while as yet he had not
 “ made the earth, nor the fields, nor the highest part of the dust of
 “ the world. When he prepared the heavens, I was there; when
 “ he set a compass upon the face of the depth; when he established
 “ the clouds above; when he strengthened the fountains of the
 “ deep; when he gave to the sea his decree, that the water should
 “ not pass his commandment; when he appointed the foundations
 “ of the earth. Then I was by him, as one *brought up with him*;
 “ and I was *daily* his delight, rejoicing *always* before him.” Here,
 says Dr. Bull in a work additional to his Defence of the Nicene
 Faith, but lost in the splendour of that refulgent sun, and yet a star
 of some brightness itself; “ the Wisdom of God, which is said to be
 “ with God from everlasting, from the beginning, before the earth
 “ was,” and to be “ his continual delight;” *all the fathers una-*
 “ *nimously understood* to be (as indeed the words themselves literally
 “ and plainly import) σοφία υφιστασα, a subsisting, personal Wisdom,
 “ i. e. the Son of God, who is accordingly by St. Paul expressly
 “ styled, “ the Wisdom of God,” 1 Cor. i. ver. 24” (Bull’s Ca-
 tholic Doctrine concerning the B. Trinity, among his Sermons and
 Discourses iii. p. 842—843). See also Allix’s Judgment, p. 161.
 for the Jerusalem Targum. This passage indeed was allowed by
 both the Arians and the orthodox, in the grand contest between them
 during the fourth and fifth centuries; to refer to the Logos or Son of
 God. The Arians allowed it, and even urged it; relying only on
 their own construction of that word in the Septuagint, which is
 answered in our version by *possessed*, as it means in the original
 (Randolph, part i. p. 45), and which was rendered by them *created*.
 And, with a truly Arian pettiness of soul, they dwelt upon this poor
 and (at best) ambiguous point; and adverted not to the existence of
 this personal Wisdom, so expressly asserted to be “ from everlasting.”
 They skulked from conviction behind a reed, while an oak was fall-
 ing down upon them.

substantial

substantial identity of Both with God, in other parts of this work. WISDOM is represented to have been the Divine Being conversant with man, in all the periods of his calamitous history, from Adam to Moses^l; when we have seen this very Being before, to have been the WORD himself. WISDOM is particularly conversant with Adam, with Abraham, with Lot, and with Jacob^m; all of them persons, with whom Philo has previously introduced the WORD conversing. WISDOM is also described expressly, as he who “delivered the righteous
“people and blameless seed” of the Israelites,
“from the nation” of Egyptians “that oppressed
“themⁿ,” when the grand act of this deliverance, the decisive stroke of vengeance that consummated their deliverance, has been already ascribed in this very work, to the WORD himself; and when, in other parts, both it and all are equally ascribed to God himself. As “they” the Egyptians, says the author to God, in a just admiration of his assimilating punishments to transgressions, “had determined to slay
“the babes of the saints; one child [Moses] being
“cast forth, and saved to reprove them, THOU
“tookest away the multitude of *their* children.” And it was “THY ALMIGHTY HAND,” he says again, “that made the world of matter without form;—
“for the whole world before thee is as a little

^l Chap. ix.

^m Chap. x. 1—2, 5—6, and 10.

ⁿ Chap. x. 15.

“ grain of the balance, yea, as a drop of the morn-
 “ ing dew that falleth down upon the earth;” and
 “ the ungodly, that denied to know thee, were
 “ scourged by the strength of thine arm: with
 “ strange rains, hails, and showers were they perfe-
 “ cuted, that—themselves might see and perceive,
 “ that they were persecuted with the judgment of
 “ GOD^o.” WISDOM is equally exhibited to us, as
 one who “ guided them [the Israelites] in a mar-
 “ vellous way, and was unto them for a cover by
 “ day, and a light of stars in the night-season;
 “ brought them through the Red Sea, and led
 “ them through much water; but—drowned their
 “ enemies^p.” Yet the passages in the Psalms, of
 which this is in part a copy, assign the whole
 of this most extraordinary and double prodigy,
 to the LORD GOD of the Israelites. “ Marvellous
 “ things did HE,” the Psalmist cries out, “ in the
 “ fight of our fore-fathers, in the land of Egypt,
 “ even in the field of Zoan: HE divided the sea, and
 “ let them go through; HE made the waters to
 “ stand on an heap: in the day-time also HE led
 “ them with a cloud, and all the night through
 “ with a light of fire:” and “ HE spread out a cloud
 “ to be a covering, and fire to give light in the
 “ night-season^q.” And “ thou,” says that very
 author to GOD, “ gavest them [the Israelites] a

^o Chap. xviii. 5, xi. 17, 22, and xvi. 16, 18.

^p Chap. x. 17—19.

^q Psalm lxxviii. 13—15, and cv. 38.

“ burning

“ burning pillar of fire, both to be a guide of the
 “ unknown journey, and an harmless fun to enter-
 “ tain them honourably;—THOU destroyedst them
 “ [the Egyptians] altogether in a mighty water^r.”
 So completely is the WISDOM of Philo here, the
 Un-created WISDOM of God, the Personal WISDOM
 or WORD of the Father, the Son of God, God the Son,
 and the superintending God of man; denominated the
 WISDOM of the Father, because in him “ are hid all the
 “ treasures of wisdom and knowledge^s,” and deno-
 minated also the WORD of the Father, because he
 was to speak the dictates of that wisdom and know-
 ledge, to all the creatures of God; the Filial Deity
 being the Oracle of Paternal Wisdom, to them^t.

Nor

^r Chap. xviii. 3 and 5. See also Chap. xix. 6—8, and 22.

^s Coloss. ii. 3.

^t So in Proverbs viii. 31, Wisdom represents herself, in an allu-
 sion to this presence of the Logos with the Israelites, with the patri-
 archs, and with all the religious of mankind up to Adam; as “ re-
 “ joicing in the habitable [inhabited] part of his [the Father’s]
 “ earth, and my delights were with the sons of men.” Dr. Young
 accordingly says thus, in that poem of his which is often so brilliant,
 so strong, and so particularly affecting to the younger votaries of re-
 ligion; the Night-thoughts:

Un-injur’d from our praise can HE escape,
 Who, dis-embosom’d from the FATHER, bows
 The Heav’n of Heav’ns, to kiss the distant earth!
 Breathes out in agonies a sinless soul!

.....

Throws wide the gates celestial to his foes!
 Their *gratitude* for such a boundless debt,
 Deputes their *suff’ring* brothers to receive!

And,

Nor shall I add any more to what I have said, except only to present my reader with the account here given, of the high dignity of this WISDOM, and of what is the primary cause of it all, his origination in essence from the Father. We have seen before from the pencil of Philo, a luxuriant delineation of the beauty and brightness of the WORD. We have also compared it with St. Paul's exhibition of the same personage, under the title of SON OF GOD; who is said to be "the brightness of his glory, and "the express image of his person^u." And Philo has here obliged us with another sketch of this Secondary God, that is even more luxuriant in brilliancy of colouring, than the former; yet is more sober, in propriety of ideas; and seems, in the *main* points, to be only an expansion of St. Paul's sentiments. His WISDOM, he says, "is the worker of all things,— "having all power, overseeing all things, and going "through all—spirits;—she passeth and goeth "through all things, by reason of her pureness; "for She is THE BREATH of the POWER of God,

And, if deep human guilt in payment fails,

As deeper guilt, prohibits our *despair*!

Enjoins it as our duty, to *rejoice*!

And (to close all) omnipotently kind,

Takes his delights among the sons of men!

What words are these?—And did they come from Heav'n?

And were they spoke to man? to guilty man?

What are all mysteries, to love like this? *Consolation.*

^u Heb. i. 3.

" and

“ and A PURE INFLUENCE [*rather* emanation] flowing from the GLORY of the Almighty;—She is THE BRIGHTNESS of the EVERLASTING LIGHT, the UNSPOTTED MIRROR of the POWER [energy] of God, and THE IMAGE of his GOODNESS ^x.” We thus concenter all the principal rays of our argument, in one point; and leave them united in one effulgence of truth, to blazon forth the derivation of the WORD or WISDOM from God, as of a Son from a Father; the co-existence of the Son with the Father, as a necessary and eternal Radiation from the Self-existent and Eternal Light; the consequent co-essentiality of the Son and the Father together; and the final co-ordination of Both, not in origin, not in office, but in nature, in goodness, in power, and in glory.

— II. —

BUT let us now turn from Philo to three works, one of which will give us occasion, to notice some new circumstances concerning him; to mark the posterior date of his Wisdom of Solomon, to all his acknowledged works; and so to continue his line of evidence, to the close of the apostolick period.

^x Chap. vii. 22—26. Ατμὶς γὰρ ἐστὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως, καὶ ἀπορροια τῆς τοῦ παντοκράτορος δόξης ἐιδικρῆνης.—Ἀπαυγασμα γὰρ ἐστὶ φωτὸς αἰδὺς, καὶ ἐσοπτρὸν ἀκηλιδωτὸν τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνεργείας, καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ. The original words of St. Paul, are these: Ὁς ὡς ἀπαυγασμα [the very same word with our author's here, and signifying a radiation from a mass of light] τῆς δόξης, καὶ χαρακτὴρ [the very print or impression] τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ.

These

These three immediately succeed to it and to him. And they lengthen out the chain of electrick fire, from those grand luminaries of Christianity, the apostles, to the middle of the second century.

I.—The first of these is equally with the Book of Wisdom, a work of a Jewish author, a little later in time, and just posterior to the days of the apostles. This is what is now denominated, the SECOND Book of ESDRAS; because it is composed in the name of Ezra or Esdras, and has been placed with the *first* in the Apocrypha of the Old Testament. The *first* was in the Apocrypha, *not* before the Septuagint translation was *made*, for it was not in the original translation; yet before the translation was *completed* for the use of the Hellenist Jews, and is therefore found in that translation at present^y. But the *second* was inserted in it, like the Book of Wisdom, by the Christians; and by the Christians of the West only. The earliest Christians formed an Apocrypha to the New Testament, as the later Jews had done to the Old. The Christians of the *East* placed Hermes, Barnabas, and those other writers of the apostolick age, which the Romanists still place, in the Apocrypha of the New. They even threw the Book of Wisdom in its original *Greek*, into the Apocrypha of the Old. And the Christians of the *West* retained all these; even added the writings of Ambrose, Austin, and others of the

^y Cosin, p. 54, 99, 114, and 142.

Western Fathers, to the Apocrypha of the New; and threw the second Book of Esdras in its original *Latin*, into the Apocrypha of the Old ².

That this work was written *after* the publication of the Gospels, is apparent from several passages in *them*, passages incidental and peculiar, being incorporated into *it* ^a. That it was written also, *after* the Revelations of St. John were published; is equally apparent from many images and expressions, that are borrowed from them ^b. Yet it is quoted by Tertullian at the beginning of the third century,

² Cofin, p. 115—118, and 159. It now remains in the Vulgate accordingly, with this sentence prefixed in the Table of Contents, “*Libri sequentes non sunt in canone Hebræo, ab ecclesiâ tamen recepti Christianâ, Tertius et Quartus Esdræ;*” the Romanists reckoning Ezra and Zechariah, as the First and Second of Esdras. And, in the preface to it from St. Jerome, we read this warning to the reader; “*Nec APOCRYPHORUM tertii et quarti libri SOMNIIS delectetur, quia et apud Hebræos Esdræ Neemiæque sermones in unum volumen coartantur; et quæ non habentur apud illos, nec de viginti quatuor senibus [See Cofin, p. 117], SUNT PROCUL ABJICIENDA*” (p. 290). With such a bold brand of falsification on her front, does the Church of Rome proceed continually in *canonizing* these apocryphal books! Her very Bibles, with her own comments inserted in them, condemn her. And this very preface, which she has not dared to throw out from them, though she has dared to *canonize* the books mentioned as apocryphal in it; shows at once what she formerly thought of the books, leads her people to think so still in direct contradiction to her mandates, and marks her modesty in the midst of her effrontery.

^a See the margins of the Oxford Bible, for i. 30, 32, 33, &c.

^b See the margins for ii. 12, 38, 39, 41, 42, 44, 47; and vi. 17, compared with Rev. i. 15.

and

and by Clemens Alexandrinus before the end of the second^c. And it consequently appears to have been written, about the commencement of the second. It was then composed by a Jewish Christian of the West. His frequent references to the New Testament, prove him to have been a Christian. But his Christianity is frequently overlaid by his Judaism. The Judaism of Philo is very apparent, even in his Book of Wisdom; from his dwelling again and again upon the sufferings of the Egyptians, and his magnifying them beyond the canonical standard of truth; from his mention of the angel that slew the Israelites in the wilderness, as "afraid" of the priestly robes of Aaron; and from his notice of the land of Canaan, as "the land which God esteemed above all other," and as therefore selected by God to "receive a worthy colony of God's children^d." In the same, and even a more marked, style of Judaism; does this Esdras recite for true history, with a glancing obscurity however, that shows the struggles of shame in him; some rabbinical dreams about Behemoth and Leviathan, as the appointed materials of a feast for the elect, at the Day of Judgment. "Then didst thou ordain," he says to God concerning the creation, "two living creatures; the one thou calledst Enoch [*mar-*

^c Cofin, p. 37 and 39, and Eusebius' Hist. v. 11, p. 223.

^d Wisdom, xv. 9, 18, &c.; xvii. 3, 4, &c.; xviii. 25; and xii. 7.

"gin,

“ *gin*, Behemoth], and the other Leviathan;—unto
 “ Enoch thou gavest one part—which was dried
 “ up,—that he should dwell in the same part,
 “ wherein are a thousand hills; but unto Leviathan
 “ thou gavest—the moist, and hath kept him to be
 “ devoured of whom thou wilt, and when^e.” He
 also assures us of something that is Judaically false,
 concerning those *ten* tribes of the Jews, which have
 been so vainly explored by what are supposed to be
 the other *two*, in every corner of the globe: and
 which appear plainly from *our* scriptures, from the
 belief of the Jews cotemporary with them, and from a
 concurrent intimation in *their own* scriptures; to have
 been associated with the two others, at the restora-
 tion of all from the Assyrian captivity; to have been
 dispersed with all afterwards, at the Roman destruc-
 tion of Jerusalem; and to be apparent, in the apparent
 mass of the Jews at present^f. Yet these, says this very
 Judaizing

^e II. Esdras, vi. 49—52 and Mod. Un. Hist. xiii. 174, 475, and 520.

^f St. Paul speaks of the *twelve* tribes, as *all* equally apparent and known then, and so speaks *to* the king, and *before* a number of the Jews; “ unto which promise our *twelve* tribes, instantly serving “ God day and night, hope to come” (Acts xxvi. 7). St. James also addresses his Epistle expressly, “ to the *twelve* tribes which are “ scattered abroad” (i. 1). St. John too, speaking of the Jews that were baptized into Christianity, says they were sealed out of “ *all* “ the tribes of the children of Israel” (Rev. vii. 4). And Ezra at the very time, *never* confining the refugees to the *two* tribes, once intimates them very plainly to have been out of *all the twelve*. “ The children of Israel,” he says, “ the priests and the Levites,
 “ and

Judaizing Christian, retired from the Assyrian yoke “into a further country, where never mankind dwelt;” having “entered into Euphrates, by the narrow passages of the river;” God having “held still the flood, till they were passed over;” and they having been “a year and a half” on their long march^g. And in a third place he boldly avers, that God created the world for the sake of—the Jews; and actually introduces God saying, “For *their* sakes I made the world^h.”

Such an author therefore is peculiarly competent, to witness the still-remaining faith of the Jews, in the Divinity of their Messiah. We have already had Philo as a powerful witness, for a period preceding. Yet Eusebius affirms him, from historical tradition,

“and the rest of the children of the captivity, kept the dedication of this house of God, with joy; and offered at the dedication of this house of God, an hundred bullocks, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs, and, for a sin-offering for *all* Israel, *twelve* he-goats, according to the number of the *tribes* of Israel” (vi. 16—17). Philo accordingly says p. 822, that there *are* twelve tribes of the Jews, φυλαὶ μὲν ἐν Εἰσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν δωδεκά. And Justin Martyr, speaking to Trypho a Jew, involves all the *twelve* tribes in the murder of our Saviour; and says they shall all mourn, ὑμῶν αἱ δωδεκα φυλαί, at his re-appearance to judgment (p. 355. edit. Coloniae 1686).

^g Chap. xiii. 40. The ten tribes have been therefore supposed by some Christians, to be found—in the *Tartars* (Whiston’s *Memoirs*, 575—598), and still more strangely perhaps, in the southern or northern natives of *America* (Mod. Un. Hist. xiii. 437, 447—448, and 498).

^h Chap. vi. 55—56, vii. 11,

to

to have conversed with St. Peter at Rome; St. Jerome asserts him, equally from the same tradition, to have cultivated the friendship of St. Peter there; and Photius, that useful gleaner of hints from works that have been since lost, and therefore referring, like the others, to the tradition of history for what he says; very correspondently declares him, to have professed Christianity for some time, and at length through grief and resentment to have recoiled from itⁱ. He was one of those spirits of earth probably, who can seriously court Truth under the shade of academick groves^k, but dare not venture to wed her forsooth! without the consent of the world. He felt the beauty of the Christian religion; but then the multitude frowned upon her. He therefore tore himself, “through grief and resentment,” away

ⁱ Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. ii. 17. p. 65. Ον και λογος εχει, κατα Κλαυδιον επι της Ρωμης εις ομιλιαν ελθειν Πετρω, τοις εκεισε τοτε κηρυττοντι. Jerome in Cat. Scrip. Eccles. “Aiunt hunc—, cū secundā vice venisset ad Claudium, in eādē urbe locutum esse cum apostolo Petro, “ejusque habuisse amicitias.” Photius in Bib. Cod. Λεγεται δε, αυτον και τα χριστιανων μυηθεντα, υστερον τηων δια τινα λυπην και οργην εκπεσειν, αλλα προτερον γε, φασιν, επι Κλαυδιω Ρωμην καταλαβοντα, Πετρω τω κορυφαιω των αποστολων εντυχειν, και φιλιως διατεθηναι. Testimonies prefixed to Philo’s works. These three authors all refer, not (as they are commonly understood) to mere tradition for their accounts, but (as the varying nature of them shows, the last extending much beyond the first, and yet all concurring in the main point) to what I have called the tradition of history, the general testimony of preceding writers. See also next note but one, for a mistake in all concerning the precise reign in which this happened.

^k Inter sylvas academi quærere verum.

from her arms; “through resentment,” that he could not keep without openly acknowledging her, and “through grief,” that he durst not make her such an acknowledgment: and so was compelled by both, struggling as they were within him, to desert what he loved, and to yield up his affections to his meanness. He thus left her to the enjoyment of those, who could presume to act for themselves; who had sense enough to prefer God, before the rabble of mankind; and who had soul enough to know, a thousand worlds were well laid out in purchase of his Heaven. His own Book of Wisdom too shows him, conformably with all, by his allusions in it to our Saviour, and by his references to the apostles, to have certainly imbibed Christianity once. And, by his choosing to personate Solomon there; thence taking occasion to rob the Gospel, in order to dress out the Law; and so abstaining studiously in his praises of Jewish and other worthies, from any mention of that very Saviour, at whom he glances so strongly under the appellation of *the Son of God*, and of those very apostles, of whom he insinuates so much praise; he appears to have suppressed his acknowledgment of Christianity, even while he revered it, and so to have returned in appearance only, to his original Judaism¹.

In

¹ Dr. Allix urges, that Philo had *no* connexion with St. Peter at Rome; but urges it from two considerations, which are both erroneous.

In that similarly circumstanced work, the Second Book of Esdras; this reputed Ezra brings in God,
as

ous. First he alledges, that Philo in p. 883 speaks of an historical event, which happened about the year 40 before our Saviour, as having happened "not long before" he wrote (Judgment, p. 78). Yet this expression surely is too indefinite and unchronological, to mark any precise period of duration. All such notes of time, indeed, are merely relative. And Philo, having recited several instances from *ancient* history, comes at last to a *recent* one. This happened, he says, *καὶ ὀλίγον ὀλίγον*, "not long ago;" as opposed to the ancient stories of Euripides's Polyxena, the Dardanian women, and the Lacedæmonian boy. Those therefore were ancient, when compared in age with this; and this was recent, when compared in age with those. And the Doctor's first argument is plainly of no avail. Nor is his second of more. "Philo," he alledges, "in the history of his legation to Caligula says of himself, that he was *at that time* all grey with age, that is, 70 years old according to the Jewish notion of a man with grey hair:—it follows that he was born in the year of Rome 723," sixty years "before Christ *preached* in Judæa" (p. 80). But this is all a gross mis-construction of the words of Philo. In the beginning of his History of the Legation, he speaks thus: "How long shall we, who are old men," *ἡμεῖς οἱ γέροντες*, "yet be boys; in our bodies indeed grey with length of time," *χρόνῳ μέλει πολλοῖς*, "but in our souls truly infants from our folly" (p. 992)? Philo therefore insinuates himself to be a grey-headed old man, *not* when he *went* on the legation to Caligula, *but* when he *wrote the account* of it. And Dr. Allix's other argument has equally failed him.

That account was not written, in the reign of Caligula. This the whole complexion of it, severely as it exposes the conduct of Caligula, shows us sufficiently. The express mention of the emperor Claudius, *Κλαυδῖος Γερμανικὸς Καίσαρ* (p. 1022), hardly shows it more. Nor was it written at the same time with that dissertation on the impiety of Caligula, which he denominated an eulogium on his virtues, and recited before all the senate of Rome in the reign of Claudius (Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. ii. 18, p. 72). It was much later, and co-æval probably with that History of Flaccus's Administration

as prophesying thus concerning our Saviour, "After
" these years shall MY SON CHRIST die;" and even
speaking

in Egypt, which breathes exactly the same spirit, relates to the same sort of incidents in a period of time just prior, and yet was certainly written very late. When Philo wrote the history of his legation, he was now become *old* and *grey-headed*. When Philo wrote the account of Flaccus, he said he did it not "to revive the memory of "*ancient* injuries," *εχ υπερ τε ΠΑΛΑΙΩΝ απομνημονευειν αδικημάτων*, "but to show with admiration the justice that conducts human affairs" (p. 986). And a period of time had intervened between the commission and the description of the injuries, sufficient to render them *ancient*, even in the memory and language of Philo.

Philo in fact spent all the early part of his life, in the philosophical studies of religion. This part he calls *η πρωτη ηλικια*, or his first age (p. 776). But he was forced from these studies by violence, he tells us, "and thrown into that great sea of *political concerns*, on "which he was then tossed;" *καταβαλειν εις μεγα πελαγος των εν πολιτεια φροντιδων, εν ω φορεμεν* (ibid.). These concerns were, what the behaviour of Caligula particularly imposed upon him. "It is "worth while," he says in his Account of the Legation to Caius, "to record both what we saw and what we heard, when we were "sent to fight this fight of a *political nature*," *μεταπεμφθεντες αγωνισασθαι τον περι της πολιτειας αγωνα* (p. 1040). He was therefore no longer in his *πρωτη ηλικια* or first age. He was now in the second or middle age of his life. Accordingly he tells us in his advancing account of the legation, that "seeming to see something "farther, both from his *age*," not *πρωτην ηλικιαν* as before, but simply and only *ηλικιαν*, "and his education besides, he was suspicious of what the others rejoiced at" (p. 1018). And Josephus correspondently informs us, that Philo was *at the head* of this legation, *προεσως των Ιουδαιων της πρεσβειας* (Ant. xviii. 9, p. 821). Philo was therefore about 30, when this happened; which was about the year 40 of Christ.

In these publick concerns he was engaged many years. Yet, in all intervals of leisure from them, he continued to study the law of God, and even to publish treatises explanatory of it, as he had done
before

speaking of him by his personal appellation thus, "MY SON JESUS shall be revealed^m." He thus acknowledges the Messiah, by that exclusive and appropriated title of SON OF GOD; which we have seen before, and shall immediately see hereafter, to

before (p. 776—777). He also composed and recited his ironical eulogium upon Caligula, mentioned above. He wrote other works again, as his Account of Flaccus, and his History of the Legation, at a much later period; when the injuries received at Alexandria before, were now grown *ancient*; and when the author himself was now become *old* and *grey-headed*. And, as he wrote these certainly at a distance from Alexandria, because of the just but severe censures, which he has occasionally given to the Alexandrians in them (p. 971, 1009, 1015, &c.); so did he probably write them at *Rome*, where his oration against Caligula was received with admiration, and where all his publications were honoured with a place in their libraries (Eusebius, ii. 18, p. 72). There he was young enough, we see, to converse with St. Peter; even though St. Peter did not come thither, as some have thought, till the 1st of Nero, or A. D. 55. Philo was then about 45 only. But in fact, I believe, St. Peter did not reach Rome till 63, and was martyred in three or four years afterwards. And Philo, we know, lived to be more than sixty years of age; even 70, according to the Jewish notion above; and still continued to write and publish. In this period of his residence at Rome, it must have been that he met with St. Peter there, as Photius, Jerome, and Eusebius unite to assure us he did; conversed with him; and became a Christian. But, on the martyrdom of St. Peter probably, and the threatened extermination of the Christians by Nero, Philo renounced his Christianity so much, as was sufficient to save him from persecution for it. Yet he retained all his inward reverence for the Gospel; and endeavoured covertly to serve it, by writing his Book of Wisdom. And chronology now unites with history and with this, to give a full certainty to the final Christianity of Philo.

^m Chap. vii. 29, 28.

involve in it such an amplitude of power, such prerogatives of glory, and even such a communion of Divinity. He accordingly installs him, as it were, in that power, that glory, and that Divinity. “ I, “ Efdras,” he says, “ saw upon the Mount Sion a “ great people, whom I could not number; and “ they all praised THE LORD with songs: so I asked “ the angel, and said, Sir, what are these? He answered and said unto me: These be they that “ have put off the mortal clothing, and put on the “ immortal, and have *confessed* the name of God; “ now are they crowned, and receive palms. Then “ said I unto the angel: What young person is it, “ that crowneth them, and giveth them palms in “ their hands? So he answered and said unto me; “ It is THE SON OF GOD, whom they have *confessed* “ in the world. Then began I greatly to commend “ them, that stood *so* stiffly for the name of THE “ LORD. Then the angel said unto me; Go thy “ way, and tell my people what manner of things, “ and how great wonders of THE LORD thy God, “ thou hast seenⁿ.” Here those who confessed *the Son of God*, are said by the author to have stood stiffly for the name of *the Lord*, to have confessed the name of *God*, and for it to have been honoured with crowns and palms, by *the Lord his God*. And the *manner*, in which the Divinity of the Messiah is thus indicated, not by positive assertion but by obvious

ⁿ Chap. ii. 42—47.

inference,

inference, not avowedly but incidentally; is the natural result of a conviction, resting familiarly upon the mind of the writer, neither encountering nor expecting to encounter any opposition, and breaking out in the fulness of his own and the general persuasion concerning it.

The name of THE SON OF GOD, as I have formerly observed^o, appears with its seemingly opposed title of *the Son of Man*, to have been the ordinary appellative among the Jews, for the Messiah or Saviour of their scriptures. *This* marked the humanity, and *that* denoted the Divinity; while either comprehended the other, as a well-known accompaniment to itself. The title indeed of *the Son of God*, does not convey to *our* ears generally any intimation of Divinity. But it did to the Jews. And all titles must be taken, in their peculiar and idiomatic meaning. From our early acquaintance with classical Heathenism, we consider the appellative too much in the light of a Heathen one; and too much annex the ideas of the school, to the term. But we should divest ourselves of these accidental impressions, endeavour to catch the true tone of the scripture-language, and dwell on the Judaical combinations of ideas in it. Then we see the title of *the Son of God*, as an intended designation of Divinity. We hear our Saviour called *the Son of God* by others, and hear him addressed as GOD. We see him entitled *the Son*

• Chap. I, sect. iii.

of God by himself, and see him assuming all the prerogatives of God. We behold the Jews at large, we behold the apostles, and we behold our Saviour, habitually comprehending Godhead in the term. There is an association of ideas in them all, which regularly and insensibly comprizes the one in the other. And we find the fact particularly displayed in one pregnant part of the scripture-history, which exhibits to us Jews and Heathens interchangeably using the title, and using it in such a manner as lends it the full force of Divinity.

As our Saviour hung upon the cross, says St. Matthew, “ they that passed by, reviled him, wag-
“ ging their heads and saying, Thou that destroyest
“ the temple and buildest it in three days, save thy-
“ self; if thou be the SON OF GOD, come down
“ from the cross. Likewise also the Chief Priests
“ mocking him, with the Scribes and Elders, said,
“ He saved others, himself he cannot save; if he be
“ THE KING OF ISRAEL, let him now come down
“ from the cross, and we will believe him. He
“ trusted in God; let *Him* deliver him now if he
“ will have him: for he said, I am THE SON OF
“ GOD. The thieves also, which were crucified with
“ him, cast *the same* in his teeth, [one of them say-
“ ing, If thou be CHRIST, save thyself and us; but
“ the other—said unto Jesus, Lord, remember me,
“ when thou comest *into thy kingdom*]. [And the
“ soldiers also mocked him, coming to him, and of-
“ fering

“ fering him vinegar, and faying, If thou be THE
 “ KING OF THE JEWS, fave thyself.]—Now when the
 “ centurion, and they that were with him watching
 “ Jefus, faw the earthquake and thofe things that
 “ were done; they feared greatly, faying, [Certainly
 “ this was *a righteous man*], Truly this was THE SON
 “ OF GOD^p.” Here we fee the Jews, and the Gen-
 tile refidents among them, uniting to fpeak in a lan-
 guage, that ftamps Divinity upon the title ufed by
 them both. The Jewish paffengers upon the road
 over the top of Calvary, ftood ftill near the crofs of
 our Saviour, infultingly to nod at him; to reproach
 him, with his affumed appellative of the Son of
 God; and to challenge him to an exertion of that
 Divinity which both he and they affixed to it, by
 coming down from the crofs, and faving himfelf
 from death. The Elders, the Scribes, and the Chief
 Priests, equally infulted him with the fame affump-
 tion, and equally challenged him to the fame exer-
 tion; calling upon him now to fhew he was truly
 THE KING OF ISRAEL, or the Lord and Sovereign of
 their nation in all ages, by putting forth the power
 of his Divine Royalty, and coming down from the
 crofs. The ftong import of the appellation KING
 OF ISRAEL, and the plenitude of Godhead which it
 intimates, may be fhown by a variety of paffages in
 fcripture; but is fufficiently evident from this, and

^p Mat. xxvii. 39—44, Luke xxiii. 39—40, and 42, Mat. xxvii.
 54, and Luke xxiii. 36—37, and 47.

two very similar passages, collated together. When Nathaniel and Thomas expressed their full conviction, of our Saviour's being all that he said he was; Thomas cried out, "My Lord and my God," and Nathaniel, "Rabbi, thou art *the Son of God*, thou art *THE KING OF ISRAEL* ^q." One of the thieves also did the same, by combining the characters of Son of God and of King of Israel together, in that of Christ; and the other desired our Saviour to remember him, when in the state to which our Saviour was hastening beyond the grave, he whose "kingdom was not of this world ^r," should take an open possession again of that his *kingdom over Israel*. But let us now come to the Heathen part, of the attendants upon this occasion. The centurion had

^q John xx. 28 and i. 49. "The Holy One of Israel is our *King*," says the the Psalmist (lxxxix. 19). "Mine eyes have seen the *King*, the Lord of Hosts," adds Isaiah (vi. 5), and "I am the Creator of Israel, your *King*" (xliii. 15). And "the whole multitude of the disciples began to rejoice," St. Luke tells us concerning our Saviour himself, "and praise God with a loud voice, for all the mighty works that they had seen, saying, Blessed be the *King* that cometh in the name of the Lord, peace in heaven, and glory in the highest" (xix. 37—38). So Pilate asked our Saviour, "Art thou *the King of the Jews*?" And he answering said unto him, Thou sayest it.—Pilate answered them, saying, Will ye that I release unto you *the King of the Jews*?—Pilate answered, and said again unto them, What will ye then that I shall do unto him, whom ye call *the King of the Jews*?—They began to salute him, Hail, *King of the Jews*.—And the superscription of his *accusation* was written over, *The King of the Jews*" (Mark xv. 2, 9, 12, 18, and 26).

^r John xviii. 36.

only

only a quaternion of soldiers, under him^s. He and they equally insulted our Saviour, with the same reference to his claim of Divinity, and with the same challenge to his immediate exercise of it. If thou be, they cried, what we have heard with astonishment, thy friends and thy foes declare thou professest thyself to be, “ the King and God of the Jews;” now stretch forth thy sceptre of Godhead, now save thyself, and prove to these murderers, thou art their God and King. In all these challenges, our Saviour is called upon equally with God; God to deliver our Saviour, our Saviour to deliver himself; and our Saviour is called upon several times, while God is called upon once only. And when the dignified mode of our Saviour’s death^t, and all the prodigies of nature that accompanied it, had wrought an instant conviction on the minds of the centurion and his little party; they cried out exactly with the same current of ideas, but with the current now turned back in its course; that our Saviour had shown himself a man of probity in all which he had said, and that he now appeared plainly to be what he had said he was, the

^s John xix. 23, “ Then the soldiers, when they had crucified “ Jesus, took his garments; and made *four* parts, to *every* soldier a “ part,” &c.

^t Mark xv. 39, “ When the centurion, which stood over against “ him, saw that he so cried out and gave up the ghost, he said,” &c.

Christ,

Christ, the Son of God, the King of Israel, the King of the Jews, or the Patron God of their nation^u.

There was thus in the faith of the Jews, a common principle of Divine existence, a band of Deity, and a link of Divinity; which connected the Father and the Son together, in a community of powers; and formed them vitally and inseparably into one Godhead. The Son has received an essence from the Father, by his filial derivation from him; which is substantially divine of course, *because* it is the essence of the Father. Every Son stands in the same

^u In a spurious Gospel which is falsely attributed to St. Barnabas, and which has been surmised by Mr. White in his Bampton Lectures, p. 358, edit. 2d; and by Mr. Sale in his notes upon the Koran, chap. iii. p. 42, to be the forgery of some heretical Christian; this title of *Son of God* is fully acknowledged to be the same as *God*, in the opinion of the Christians at the time of the forgery. “When God shall take me out of the world,” says our Saviour in it, “Satan will again promote this cursed sedition, making the wicked believe that I am the SON OF GOD.—The president, high-priest, and Herod said, Disturb not thyself, Jesus the saint of God, for in our time there will be no more sedition; for we will write to the holy senate of Rome, that by an imperial decree none may call thee GOD” (White, notes, p. xlii—xliii). “Though I was innocent,” adds our Saviour, “yet as they called me GOD and HIS SON,—he has chosen that I should be mocked in this world” (White, *ibid.* p. lxxv—lxxvi). The Arian Gospel thus proves the faith of the *Christians* originally, to have been what it was among the *Jews* at first; that He who was at once their Prophet, their Pattern, and their Propitiation, was also the Son of God, and, *as such*, was God. This it proves in the strongest manner, by its very proscription of the faith.

relation

relation to his Father, being a sharer in his nature, and a reflector of his person. For this reason has God selected these very appellations of Father and Son, to shadow out to us the relation between the First and Second Beings in his Godhead. They mark the subordination, and they ascertain the equality, at a glance. *He* cannot but be equal, who enjoys the same nature. *He* cannot but be subordinate, who receives it by communication.

Nor could that petty mode of argumentation, which so often embarrasses and perplexes some of what we may call, *us* Jews of Heathenism, *us* Christian profelytes of the gate; and which is founded on the supposed necessity, of the derived Being being posterior in date, to that from which it is derived; either perplex the minds, or embarrass the faith, of the ancient Jews. They studied their scriptures more closely, than we do either theirs or our own. They imbibed the leading principles in them, more thoroughly than we do. The scriptural writers were their orators, their historians, and their philosophers. They were even more. They were all these, directed by a ray of light, and inspirited with a beam of fire, from the God of Heaven. The sentiments in them, therefore, went with peculiar force to the minds, and hung with peculiar weight upon the spirits, of the Jews. They saw in human generation, that the father was prior in time to the son; but were too well tutored in the principles of theology, for the
 absurdity

absurdity of concluding this must therefore be the case with divine. They saw themselves assured by the scripture, that it was not; and, in a manliness of good sense, bowed down to the paramount authority of revealed truth. They saw the Son equally deified with the father, in their code of revelation. They saw him acting as the general Jehovah of the world, and the peculiar Jehovah of their nation; proclaiming himself to be the visible God of the universe, proving himself to have all the elements in his hands, and wielding the very thunder and lightning of the Godhead. Their senses and their history showed him to be God; their senses to the present generation, and their history to the generations succeeding. Yet they knew, he was not the First Being in their Godhead. They acknowledged him only for the Second. But they still adored him as God; as the *Son* of God, and *therefore* as God. They necessarily owned him to be Eternal, as God; though they reckoned him only Secondary, as Son. And they rested firmly in this faith, unhurt by that impertinence of philosophy, which is only a solumner sort of folly; which either reduces God into a man, or exalts man into God, and then reasons from its own absurdity; a madman arguing from assumptions wild and ridiculous, imagining a candle to be the orb of day, or supposing the orb of day to be a candle. Even in scenes of earth, they might see sufficient to illustrate the mode of divine generation,

generation, when theology had ascertained the fact. In all effects that are *voluntary*, the cause must be prior to the effect; as the father is to the son, in human generation. But, in all that are *necessary*, the effect must be co-eval with the cause; as the stream is with the fountain, and light with the sun. Had the sun been eternal in its duration, light would have been co-eternal with it. Was the fountain from everlasting, the stream would be equally from everlasting too. And the Son of God, in the faith and confession of the Jews, was the Second Jehovah, or the Mediate God of the universe; an Eternal De-ri-vation from the Eternal Fountain of Deity, an Everlasting De-radiation from the Everlasting Sun of Divinity, in God the Father.

II.—But let me leave these reflections, which the Second Book of Esdras has suggested to me; and produce some passages from another work, that will need little enforcement. The former shows the lustre of the Jewish faith, to have still continued bright and unsullied in general, from the days of our Saviour to the days of this Esdras. We may now appeal for the fact, to a second evidence; which is nearly of the same nature as the first, actually co-temporary with it, and much stronger and richer in itself. This is in a work, which is entitled THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS, and which was first brought into Europe in the thirteenth century. Robert Grossthead, bishop of Lincoln,

Lincoln, received information from one of his archdeacons; that, while he (the archdeacon) was *prosecuting his studies at Athens*, he had heard of some works, from the learned professors among the Greeks there; which were unknown to the Latins of the west. The archdeacon particularly mentioned this. The bishop therefore sent a commission into Greece, to procure it. It came. And the bishop, with the assistance of one Nicholas, a *Grecian*, then clerk to the abbot of St. Alban's, and rector of Datchet, translated it out of Greek into Latin in 1242. The translation was afterwards printed at *Paris*, in 1549. But the original was not printed till 1698. And the work is even yet so little known in general, that this short history of it, I believe, is quite requisite to my present intention of using it^x.

The author wrote *after* the destruction of Jerusalem, and the dispersion of the Jews; because he once alludes to that double event^y. But he cannot be later than the *second* century, because he is cited by Origen about the middle of the third^z. And the genius of his sentiments, so coincident with those of the spurious Esdras, fixes him at the beginning of that century. He is clearly, like Esdras, a Jew converted to Christianity, still retaining all his Jewish notions under it, and even holding such as are

^x Grabe's *Spicilegium Patrum*, i. 144 and 336.

^y P. 140.

^z P. 131—132.

ir-reconcilable

ir-reconcilable to it^a. He is very conversant with some apocryphal books of the Jews, that have been long since lost to the general eye of curiosity. From these he produces incidents in the lives of the patriarchs, of which we have no notice in the Old Testament. He peculiarly makes repeated reference to the book of Enoch, for a prophecy concerning the Jewish nation^b. And an author, so very Judaical, may usefully stand as a mirror with Esdras; to reflect again the continuing opinions of the Jews, at the commencement of the second century, concerning the Godhead of their Messiah.

In the Testament of Simeon he makes this patriarch to say, when literally translated: “ the Lord
“ shall raise up out of Levi one for a High-priest,
“ and out of Juda one for a *King*, who shall be
“ GOD AND MAN^c.” In another says the dying Zebulon: “ After these things THE LORD HIMSELF
“ shall rise upon you, a light of righteousness; and
“ healing and mercy shall be on his wings: HE shall

^a P. 133—134.

^b P. 344, &c. Grabe has here collected together several passages of the Book of Enoch, which lay scattered in various writers. Those books, he says, speaking in the plural number, “ integros
“ penes Scaligerum extitisse, in Electis Scaligerianis, p. 283, in voce
“ *Nazaretanus*, lego quidem, sed non credo” (p. 345). The church of Ethiopia has been long said, to be in possession of the whole; and Mr. Bruce confirms the report.

^c P. 157. Αναστήσει γὰρ κυρίῳ ἐκ τῆς Λεβὶ ὡς ἀρχιερεὺς, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα ὡς βασιλεὺς, θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπου.

“redeem all the captives of the sons of men from
 “Beliar [Belial], and every spirit of error shall
 “be trampled down; and HE shall turn all the na-
 “tions to an emulation of HIMSELF, and YE SHALL
 “SEE GOD IN THE FIGURE OF MAN^d.” In a third
 Testament Nephthali declares, that “through Ju-
 “dah shall arise salvation to Israel, and in him shall
 “Jacob be blessed; for, through his sceptre, shall
 “appear GOD DWELLING AMONG MEN UPON
 “EARTH, to save the race of Israel^e.” Ashur
 prophecies in another, that “THE MOST HIGH
 “SHALL VISIT THE EARTH, EVEN HE HIMSELF COM-
 “ing AS A MAN, eating and drinking with men,
 “and calmly bruising the head of the serpent by
 “water; HE shall save Israel, and all the nations,
 “A GOD IN THE MASK OF A MAN^f.” And Ben-
 jamin, in his Testament, uses these terms concern-
 ing the resurrection: “then shall we also rise,—

^d P. 203. Μετα ταυτα ανατελει υμιν αυτος κυριος, φως δικαιοσυνης, και ιασις και ευσπλαγχνια επι ταις πτερυξιν αυτου. αυτος λυτρωσεται πασαν αιχμαλωσιαν υιων ανθρωπου εκ του Βελιαρ, και παν πνευμα πλανης παληθησεται· και επισρεψει παντα τας θνη εις παραζηλωσιν αυτου, και οψεσθε θεον εν σχηματι ανθρωπου.

^e P. 216. Δια γαρ του Ιουδα ανατελει σωτηρια τω Ισραηλ, και εν αυτω ευλογηθησεται Ιακωβ. δια γαρ του σκηπτρου αυτου, οφθησεται θεος κατοικων εν ανθρωποις επι της γης, σωσαι το γενος Ισραηλ.

^f P. 228—229. Ο υψιστος επισκεψεται την γην, και αυτος ελθων ως ανθρωπος, εσθιων και πινων μετα των ανθρωπων, και εν ησυχια συντριβων την κεφαλην του δρακοντος δι' υδατος. υτος σωσει τον Ισραηλ και παντα τα εθνη, θεος εις ανδρα υποκρινομενος.

“worshipping

“ worshipping THE KING OF HEAVEN, who AP-
 “ PEARED UPON EARTH IN THE FORM OF HUMBLER
 “ MAN; and as many as believed on HIM upon
 “ EARTH, shall rejoice with HIM;—and THE LORD
 “ shall judge Israel first, even for their iniquity to
 “ HIM, because they believed not in GOD, when HE
 “ CAME TO THEM IN THE FLESH as a Deliverer;
 “ and then shall HE judge all the nations, as many
 “ as believed not in HIM, when HE APPEARED UPON
 “ EARTH^s.” These are passages sufficiently speci-
 fic in their language, and explicit in their ideas;
 to shew us the abiding sense of the Jews in general,
 as late as the beginning of the second century, con-
 cerning the Divinity of their Messiah^h.

III.—With these two witnesses from the bosom
 of Judaism, I shall briefly couple a third, in the
 Book of BARUCH. This short piece, which forms

Ε Ρ. 251. ΤΟΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΑΝΑΣΤΗΣΟΜΕΘΑ—, ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΝΤΕΣ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ
 ΤΩΝ ΘΡΑΝΩΝ, ΤΟΝ ΕΠΙ ΓΗΣ ΦΑΝΕΝΤΑ ΕΝ ΜΟΡΦΗ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ ΤΑΠΕΙΝΩΣΕΩΣ. ΚΑΙ ΟΣΟΙ
 ΕΠΙΣΤΕΥΣΑΝ ΑΥΤΩ ΕΠΙ ΓΗΣ, ΣΥΓΧΑΡΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ ΑΥΤΩ.—ΚΑΙ ΚΡΙΝΕΙ ΚΥΡΙΘ^ς ΕΝ ΠΡΩ-
 ΤΟΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΙΣΡΑΗΛ, ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΑΔΙΚΙΑΣ, ΟΤΙ ΠΑΡΑΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ ΕΝ
 ΣΑΡΚΙ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑΤΗΝ ΕΚ ΕΠΙΣΤΕΥΣΑΝ. ΚΑΙ ΤΟΤΕ ΚΡΙΝΕΙ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ ΕΘΝΗ, ΟΣΑ ΕΚ
 ΕΠΙΣΤΕΥΣΑΝ ΑΥΤΩ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΓΗΣ ΦΑΝΕΝΤΙ.

^h “ Levit. xxvi. 11—12. *I will walk among you, and be your*
 “ *God.*—I am sure the later Jews, as Ramban upon that place after
 “ the author of Torath Cohanim, do build here the opinion of *a real*
 “ *habitation of the Divinity* amongst them, in the times of the Mes-
 “ *fias*; and *that* they derive from one of their *most ancient* traditions,
 “ that the *salvation* of Israel shall be *made* by *God himself*; which
 “ they prove by Zech. ix. 9” (Allix’s Judgment, 275).

one upon the too long list of apocryphal works in our Bibles, and was with much opposition exalted into the sphere of canonical scripture, by the arrogant council of Trentⁱ; is not acknowledged by the Jews, and is not found in the Hebrew language^k: though it pretends to recite the transactions of the Jews at Babylon, only *five* years after their captivity there. It is found only in Greek^l; and was written long after the æra of the captivity. It has therefore those *escapes* in chronology, which are always incident to a narrative of facts pretendedly prior; and are peculiarly incident to one, where the simulated narrator is considerably posterior in time, to his suppositious events. Fiction never impresses a conviction upon the mind, as strongly as a reality does; and consequently guards not the spirit of an author, so securely from anachronisms. But in a fabrication like the present, where no actual forgery was intended, and only an honest deception was pursued; the name of Baruch being taken merely, under it to awake the spirit of repentance, and to guard against the dangers of idolatry; there the mind of the author would keep a less rigorous watch, upon its own movements, and wilfully perhaps sacrifice consistency at times, to its general

ⁱ Cofin's Canon of Scripture, Table of Matters remarkable, *Baruch*.

^k Cofin, p. 59.

^l P. 59.

views of good. From this principle or from that, the author speaks at his outset, of the Chaldeans having five years before “ taken Jerufalem, and “ burnt it with fire;” and yet fays the Jews of the captivity fent money from Babylon, to their brethren at Jerufalem, “ to buy them burnt-offerings, “ and fin-offerings, and incenfe,” when there was no temple exifting at Jerufalem, and no offerings were or could be made there^m. He fpeaks alfo of the “ filver veffels,” that were made by Zedekiah and “ carried out of the temple,” being “ received” back at Babylon in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, “ to return them into the land of Juda;” when there was no temple at Jerufalem for their reception, and when the filver veffels were, equally with the golden, in the royal treasury at Babylon, under the fucceeding reign of Belshazzarⁿ.

But this lively and pleafing work plainly fhowf itfelf, like the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Second Book of Efdras, and the Book of Wifdom, to be of the age of Chriftianity. Written evidently by a Jew, in order to fuggelt repentance to the Jews, and to guard the Jews from idolatry, on their *recent* captivity under the Romans, and on

^m Chap. i. 2, 6, and 7.

ⁿ Chap. i. 8, and Daniel, v. 2, “ Belshazzar—commanded to “ bring the golden and *fil-ver* veffels, which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple which was in Jerufalem.”

their *recent* dispersion among the nations of the Roman empire; it has some strokes in it, that glance obscurely at Christianity, and one, that refers to it pointedly.

“ Be of good cheer, O my children,” Jerusalem is introduced saying to her subjects, “ cry unto the
 “ Lord, and he shall deliver you from the power
 “ and hand of the enemies. For my hope is in the
 “ Everlasting, that he will save you; and joy is
 “ come unto me from the Holy One, because of
 “ the mercy which *shall soon come unto you, from the*
 “ *Everlasting our Saviour.* For I sent you out with
 “ mourning and weeping; but God will give you
 “ to me again, with joy and gladness for ever. Like
 “ as now the neighbours of Sion have seen your
 “ captivity; so *shall they see shortly your salvation*
 “ *from our God, which shall come upon you with*
 “ *great glory, and brightness of the Everlasting.*—He
 “ that hath brought these plagues upon you, *shall*
 “ *bring you everlasting joy again with your salva-*
 “ *tion*.” “ Put off, O Jerusalem, the garment of
 “ thy mourning and affliction,” the author introduces himself saying in reply; “ and put on the
 “ comeliness of the glory, that cometh from God
 “ for ever. Cast about thee a double garment of
 “ *the righteousness, which cometh from God; and set*

° Chap. iv. 21—24, and 29.

“ a diadem

“ a diadem on thine head, of the glory of the
 “ Everlasting. For God will shew thy brightness,
 “ unto every country under heaven. For thy name
 “ shall be called of God for ever, *The peace of righ-*
 “ *teousness, The glory of God's worship.* Arise, O
 “ Jerusalem, and stand on high, and look about
 “ toward the east; and behold thy children gather-
 “ ed from the *west* unto the east, by the word of
 “ the Holy One, rejoicing in the remembrance of
 “ God. For they departed from thee on foot, and
 “ were led away of their enemies; but God bring-
 “ eth them unto thee exalted with glory, as *children*
 “ *of the kingdom.* For God hath appointed that
 “ every high hill, and banks of long continuance,
 “ should be cast down, and vallies filled up; to make
 “ even the ground, that Israel may go safely in the
 “ glory of God. Moreover even the woods, and
 “ every sweet-smelling tree, shall overshadow Is-
 “ rael by the commandment of God. For God
 “ shall lead Israel with joy, in the light of his glo-
 “ ry, with the mercy and *righteousness* that cometh
 “ from him.” All this clearly alludes to some-
 thing, much beyond a restoration from the Baby-
 lonish captivity; to a captivity, that had carried
 them to the *west*, as well as the east, of Jerusalem;
 and to a restoration, which should make them

righteous, and children of the kingdom^a, which should be preceded by *the coming of the Messiah*^r, and should be followed with *the peace of righteousness, and the glory of God's worship*, in Jerusalem for ever. In language frequently evangelical, and with ideas equally Jewish and Christian, the unknown author covertly calls the Jews, to rise from the deep abyfs of their national miseries, to embrace the Gospel, and to become more glorious than ever they had been, even the head of the nations of the world.

But what gives a full force to all these general and allusive passages, determines their direction, and draws them to a point, at once; he speaks in a particular passage expressly, of the visit of the Messiah to earth as *already past*; and speaks of him in it after such a manner, as shows him, and as shows his countrymen, to have given a positive *Divinity* to him. “Who hath gone up into heaven,” he cries concerning Wisdom, “and taken her, and brought her down from the clouds? Who hath gone over the sea, and found her, and will bring her for pure gold? No *man* knoweth her way, nor thinketh of her path. But HE THAT KNOWETH ALL THINGS knoweth her, and hath found her out with his understanding:—HE that sendeth forth light and it goeth, calleth it again and it

^a Mat. viii. 12, and xiii. 38.

^r Luke iii. 5.

“obeyeth

“ obeyeth him with fear. The stars shined in their
 “ watches, and rejoiced: when HE calleth them
 “ they say, Here we be; and so with cheerfulness
 “ they shewed light, unto HIM THAT MADE THEM.
 “ This is OUR GOD, and there shall none other be
 “ accounted of in comparison of him. HE hath
 “ found out ALL THE WAY OF KNOWLEDGE; and
 “ hath given it unto Jacob his servant, and to If-
 “ rael his beloved. AFTERWARD did he SHEW HIM-
 “ SELF UPON EARTH, and CONVERSED WITH MEN.”

This speaks to the subject decisively. This shows
 the Book of Baruch, to be written by a Jew poste-
 riorly to the period of commencing Christianity.
 This proves the faith of the author and of his ex-
 pected readers, to be in the absolute Godhead of
 their Messiah. He who had already “ shewn him-
 “ self upon earth, and conversed with men,” had
 previously “ Jacob” for “ his servant,” and “ If-
 “ rael” for “ his beloved;” had “ found out all
 “ the way of knowledge;” was the “ God” of the
 Jews, the Maker and Ruler of the stars, the Form-
 er and Director of light, and “ He that knoweth
 “ all things.”

—III.— To

* Chap. iii. 29—37.

† This work was inserted in the Apocrypha very early. “ De
 “ libro Baruch,” says Bellarmine however, “ controversia fuit et
 “ est; tum quia non invenitur in Hebræis codicibus, tum etiam
 “ quia nec concilia antiqua, neque pontifices, neque *patres*, quos
 “ supra

— III. —

To these evidences for the Jewish theology being founded, like the Christian, upon this grand principle the Godhead of the Saviour; I shall subjoin

“supra citavimus,” as low as Athanasius and Cyril and the council of Laodicea inclusively, “qui catalogum librorum sacrorum
“texunt; hujus prophetæ disertis verbis meminerunt” (Cofin, p. 59). Yet the work has been received, as a part of scripture, but an apocryphal part, by the Greek church from a very early period (Cofin’s Table, *Baruch*), and assuredly from the beginning. It is accordingly cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, himself (Cofin, p. 92). The Latin church had it from the Greek; and in *Cyprian* actually cites a passage out of it, as well as out of four other apocryphal works, the Book of Wisdom, the Book of Tobit, the History of Susanna, and the Maccabees; *Cyprian* saying, “Apud *Hieremiam*
“hic Deus noster,” &c. and producing the three last verses of the 3d. chap. of *Baruch* (Adv. Jud. ii. 6, p. 35, Fell, and Cofin, p. 39 and 92). And at Trent it presumed to *canonize*, what its transmitters the Greeks had given them merely as apocryphal; and to *canonize* as an ancient part of the *Jewish* code, what the *Jews* had never admitted even into their apocrypha. Such a triumph did Popery then exhibit, of folly over facts! The vulgate Bible accordingly says,
“Liber iste qui Baruch nomine prænotatur, in Hebræo canone non
“habetur,” and yet lodges it in the canon (see p. 539). “Librum
“autem *Baruch*,” says St. Jerome in the *prologus* prefixed by the Vulgate to *Jeremiah*, “qui apud Hebræos nec legitur nec habetur,
“prætermisimus” (p. 490). And yet this very vulgate does not only *not omit*, but even *canonizes*, the book. Such a triumph is the church of Rome perpetually exhibiting, of her own scriptures over herself! “Propter notitiam autem legentium,” adds the vulgate very properly, p. 539, “hic scripta sunt; quia multa de Christo
“novissimisque temporibus indicant;” not indeed by way of *prophecy*, but as referring in terms to the *past*.

some

some additional testimonies from EUSEBIUS. These are in that very rich, but little explored, magazine of theological notices, his *EVANGELICAL PREPARATION*; a work introductory to his *Evangelical Demonstration*, leading through the sentiments of Heathenism up to Judaism, and so opening the door to a higher ascent into Christianity. To produce these, is not necessary, but may be useful. A sufficient conviction (I trust) has been already impressed, upon the justly yielding faith of the reader. But I wish to guard and secure this. And the evidence from Eusebius will usefully serve, I apprehend, to cement the Christian testimonies before, into one mass; to fasten what, at best, has been fluctuating so long in the faith of the public; to tie down, what has been thrown off so repeatedly by the judgment of scholars; and to bind it with a pin of adamant, as it were, upon the mind of my reader.

Eusebius, having recited the opinions of the Heathens, concerning the formation of the world, the nature of man, and the constitution of God; comes at last to contrast all these strange aberrations of lunatick reason, with the sober and solid dictates of Divine Wisdom, in the system of Jewish belief. These dictates are not, as with evident contradictoriness they have been supposed, by that superficial and simple patron of Arianism, the writer of the once famous *Essay on Spirit*; which became famous,

famous, merely from the mischief that it *meant* to do; to be only what Eusebius had an opportunity of collecting from the Jews in Judæa, while he was Bishop of Cæsarea there^u. They are the sentiments, not of Jews that inhabited the land of Judæa then; as there were then *no Jews in the land*, because all of them were interdicted by Adrian, and continued interdicted beyond the days of Eusebius^x; but of such, as were antecedent to Eusebius by some centuries. Nor are they what they have been more wisely and more popularly deemed, merely the comments of a Christian bishop upon the Jewish Scriptures. They are adduced partly from their Scriptures, explained in their obvious and acknowledged meaning; and partly from the works of men, who delivered their own principles as Jews, or repeat the principles of Jews from them. Even

^u P. 39—40. “As for the opinion of the *more modern* Jews, it “is no easy matter to collect or fix their sentiments; *because* that, “*since the coming of our Saviour*, the Jews—made a collection of “their oral traditions.” The author thus fixes the barrier decisively betwixt the modern and the antient Jews, at *the coming of our Saviour*. “And therefore—I shall chuse to lay before him, the “opinion of the most sensible and learned among the *antient* Jews,” those evidently that were *before* our Saviour; “as I find it collected “very judiciously by Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine,” who lived three hundred years *after* our Saviour; “who must be “allowed to be a tolerable judge, because he lived among them in “the land of Judæa;” a tolerable judge of the opinions of the *antient* Jews, because he lived among the *modern*! What a controversialist was he, who could thus write?

^x Eccl. Hist. iv. 6. p. 145—146 and note.

at

at times, when he professedly cites their Scriptures for the purpose; he cites them, as containing “the opinions of the Hebrews^y.” But he frequently appeals at once, to the very sentiments and principles of the Jews^z. He even produces some passages from Philo, some from Aristobulus, and some from Demetrius; all uniting to attest the primary articles of the Jewish creed. And all is done expressly, in order to “delineate the mode—among the Hebrews, of that philosophy and religion—, which we [Gentile Christians] have preferred to all those of our own countries^a.”

Eusebius, then, delineates to us the established creed of the Jewish church, in all ages from the Patriarchs to the Messiah inclusively. But this creed presents us with such a train of Christian articles, as shows us to be Jews while we are Christians; and to have gone, when we entered the society of the church, over from the Gentilism of our fathers to the Judaism of the Gospel. And this is particularly evident, in that which was sure to be

^y P. 186. Εβραιων δοξαι, p. 188. Εβραίοις πεφιλοσοφημένα.

^z P. 177, 187, 191, 193, and 226.

^a P. 175. Εβραιων περιλοιπον, και της κατ' αυτης φιλοσοφιας τε και ευσεβειας, ην των πατριων απαντων προλελημηκαμεν. Eusebius uses the name *Hebreus*, in preference to that of *Jews*; because he includes the patriarchs from Abraham to Moses, in his account (p. 179).

the most fixed and stable part in the whole body of religion, the nature of God^b.

I.—“Examine

^b Having just now spoken a second time against the Essay on Spirit, and having attributed it to Bishop Clayton; I think it an act of justice to state here, what has been lately said concerning the *real* author of it. “It is a remarkable fact, and hitherto not known in “the world,” says Dr. Kippis in the Biographia Britannica, iii. 623—624. edit. 1784, “that the Essay on Spirit was not actually written “by [Dr. Clayton] the Bishop of Clogher. The real author of it “was a young clergyman in our prelate’s diocese, who shewed the manuscript to his Lordship, and, for reasons which may easily be “conceived, expressed his fear of venturing to print it in his own “name. The Bishop, with that romantic generosity which marked “his character, *readily took the matter upon himself, and determined “to sustain all the obloquy that might arise from the publication.* He “did not indeed absolutely avow the work, nor could he do it with “truth: but by *letting it pass from his hands to the press, and covering it with the dedication, which was of his own writing,* he managed the affair in such a manner, that the treatise was universally “ascribed to him; and it was openly considered as his, in all the “attacks to which it was exposed. Few persons, excepting Dr. “Barnard, the present Dean of Derry, knew the fact to be otherwise; and *he hath authorized Dr. Thomas Campbell to assure the public, that the Bishop of Clogher was only the adopted father of the Essay on Spirit.*” He took up (it seems) this deformed child from the ground. He thought it handsome, in spite of all its deformities. And he adopted it with all its deformities, for his own. Indeed it was too like himself, not to excite in him a kind of parental yearning towards it. In this Essay, says Dr. Kippis himself, “the author hath “given free scope to his *speculations*;—we think, at the same time, “that he hath indulged too freely to *imagination and conjecture*” (p. 623). In a *confessed* work of the Bishop’s afterwards, says the Doctor again, “he pursued his speculations with as much freedom “and ardour as ever (p. 627). And, as the Doctor adds at the close of all, “from the liveliness of his fancy, he was sometimes “carried,

1.—“Examine also concerning the Second Cause,
“whom the oracles of the Hebrews teach to be the
“Logos

“carried, perhaps too boldly, into the regions of conjecture” (p. 628). These characters in appearance *refute* the testimony. To reconcile them, and so do what Dr. Kippis ought to have done, we must suppose the young divine to have derived his *speculations* from the *tongue* of the Bishop, to have formed them into this Essay afterwards, and then to have presented them in their new shape, “alter et idem,” to his eye. Thus formed, he naturally adopted the Essay, and without any exertion of “romantic generosity” at all. As the real parent, he felt a real yearning for it. And the brat became, by a double claim, “the child of his mind.” Nor can I express *my* ideas of a *bishop’s* conduct in this point; a *bishop’s* proceeding to *avow* the same sentiments, in a subsequent work; a *bishop’s* even presuming to *move* in the House of Lords, for taking the Nicene and Athanasian creeds out of the Liturgy; and a *bishop’s* at last drawing down upon himself a prosecution from George the Second, and the prelates of Ireland, which was proper if there is any *truth*, and doubly proper if there is any *probity*, in the world, but which went to his weak heart at once, and killed the timid preacher of Arianism with fear; more appositely and more justly, than by applying these lines of Milton to the Bishop and his Essay, and by making the latter thus address the former in them.

—————Thy head—————

—————On the left side opening wide,

LIKEST TO THEE IN SHAPE AND COUNT’NANCE BRIGHT,

Then *shining heav’nly fair*, a goddess arm’d

Out of thy head I sprung: *amazement seiz’d*

All th’ host of heav’n; back they recoil’d afraid,

—————And call’d me SIN, and for a sign

Portentous held me; but—————

I pleas’d, and with attractive graces won,

—————Thee—————, who full oft

THYSELF IN ME THY PERFECT IMAGE VIEWING,

Becam’st *enamour’d*, and such *joy* thou took’st

With *me* in secret, that *my womb conceiv’d*

A growing

“ Logos of God, and to be God off God; as we
 “ ourselves too have been instructed in theology.
 “ Moses then does expressly give us the theology of
 “ two Lords; when he says, “ And the Lord
 “ rained from the Lord, fire and brimstone” upon
 “ the city of the ungodly. There he hath famili-
 “ arly made an equal application to both the two,
 “ of the *characters* among the Hebrews [the *letters*
 “ in *Jehovah*]. And this is that theology, which
 “ is unspoken by them in the four elements [the
 “ tetragrammaton]. In concert with him does
 “ David, another prophet likewise and king of the
 “ Hebrews, speak, “ The Lord said to my Lord,
 “ Sit thou on my right hand;” indicating the
 “ Most High God by the first Lord, and the second
 “ to him by the second appellation. For to whom
 “ else is it lawful to suppose, the right hand to be
 “ conceded by the Ungenerated Deity; except to
 “ him alone, of whom we are speaking? Whom
 “ the same prophet, in another place, more plainly
 “ manifests to be the Logos of the Father, holding
 “ him forth in his theology to be the Fabricator of
 “ the universe; when he says, “ By the word
 “ [Logos] of the Lord were the heavens esta-
 “ blished.”

Here

A growing burden; —————
————— My womb,
Pregnant by thee, and now excessive grown,
Prodigious motion felt, and rueful throes.

c P. 312—313. Επισκεψαι δε και τα περι τα δευτερα [αλλη], ου δη
 θεω

Here we see "the oracles of the Hebrews," teaching us there was "a Second Cause" in the formation of nature; and informing us it was he, who is "the Logos of God," and who, as such, is "God off God." So closely assimilated in this point, are Judaism and Christianity; that the Christian Eusebius catches at once the resemblance, and recognizes his own religion in his exhibited mirror of Judaism! He then produces two passages out of the Old Testament, that have been repeatedly produced since, to prove a personal diversity in the Godhead. This "theology of two Lords," or two Jehovahs, appears now to have been as well known to the antient Jews, and as familiar to the earlier Christians; as it is to our own times^d. And the application of the second passage to the Messiah, by the Jews in our Saviour's time; and the application

θεῦ λόγον, καὶ θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ εἶναι, τὰ Ἑβραίων παιδεύει λογία· καθάπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ θεολογεῖν δεδιδαγμεθα. ὁ μὲν ἐν Μωσῆς διαρρηθὴν δύο θεολογεῖ κυρίως, ἐν οἷς φησὶ, Καὶ ἐβρεξε κύριος πᾶρα κύριον πῦρ καὶ θεόν, ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀσεβῶν πόλιν. ἐνθα συντηθῶς ἐπὶ τῶν δύο τὴν ὁμοίαν τῶν παρ' Ἑβραίοις χαρακλήσεων ἐποίησατο παραθεσιν· αὐτὴ δὲ ἐστὶ, ἡ διὰ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων ἀνεκφωνήτος παρ' αὐτοῖς θεολογία. Τελὼ δὲ καὶ Δαβὶδ, ἄλλος προφήτης οὐκ καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἑβραίων, συναδὼν φησιν, Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου, Κάθη ἐκ δεξιῶν μου· τὸν μὲν ἀνώτατον θεὸν διὰ τὴν πρῶτον κυρίαν, τὸν δὲ τῆς δευτέρας διὰ τῆς δευτέρας ἀποφηνᾶς προσηγορίας. Τινὶ γὰρ ἄλλῳ θεμῶς ὑπονοεῖν, τὰ δεξιά διὰ τῆς ἀγεννήτης θεότητος παραχωρεῖσθαι, ἢ μόνῳ τῷ περὶ τοῦ λόγου; ὅν ὁ αὐτὸς προφήτης ἐν ἑσπερίῳ λευκότερον διασαφεί λογὸν τῷ Πατρί, δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων ὑψίστατος εἶναι τὸν θεολογούμενον, ἐν οἷς φησὶ, Τῷ λόγῳ κύριον οἱ ὕμνοι ἐξερεώθησαν.

^d The texts are both applied also by Justin Martyr, a century and a half before Eusebius, p. 357.

of it as a proof of the Messiah's Divinity, by *him* in whom were "hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge," *because* "in him dwelled all the fulness of the Godhead bodily^e;" unite to evince the fixed persuasion of the Jews through all ages, of the second Lord in both being the Logos or Son of God; and to demonstrate the rectitude of reasoning in the Christians, when they apply both to ascertain the Divinity of the Son or Logos. That "Jehovah" or the Lord "rained from Jehovah" or the Lord, "fire and brimstone" upon Sodom; is equivalent in the mode of expression, and in the reach of intelligence, to "the Lord" or Jehovah "saying unto my Lord" or my Jehovah, "Sit thou on my right hand." Both "indicate the Most High God by the first Lord, and the second to him by the second appellation." Nor indeed, exclusive of all authority, could the Jews, or can the Christians, in any regard to the commonsense of criticism, apply the words to any but a superiour and an inferiour Jehovah. "For to whom else is it lawful to suppose, the right hand to be conceded by the Ungenerated Deity; except to him alone," who "is the Logos of the Father," and "the Fabricator of the universe," and "God off God^f."

2.—"The

^e Coloss. ii. 3 and 9.

^f That "their [the Jews] forefathers did hold, that these words [the Lord said unto my Lord, &c.] were spoken to the *Messias*; it appears

2.—“ The oracles among the Hebrews, after
 “ the un-caused and un-generated person of the
 “ God of all, which is unmixt and beyond all com-
 “ prehension ; introduce a second person and divine
 “ power, the Principle of all created things, sub-
 “ sisting the first, and generated out of the First
 “ Cause ; calling it the Logos, and the Wisdom,
 “ and the Power, of God.” He then cites a pas-
 sage out of the Book of Job, concerning Wisdom ;
 and that above out of the Psalms, concerning the
 Word [Logos] of God establishing the heavens.
 “ In this manner,” he adds, “ does David cele-
 “ brate the Logos of God, Him who fabricated
 “ the universe.—And this Divine Logos the Holy
 “ Scripture introduces at different times, as sent by
 “ the Father for the safety of men: and therefore
 “ reports him to have shown himself to Abraham,
 “ to Moses, and the other prophets who were dear
 “ to God, and to have taught many things by
 “ oracles, and to have foretold things to come ;
 “ when it mentions God and the Lord, to have ap-
 “ peared to and conversed with the prophets.—

“ appears by their Midrash on the Psalms, and Saadia Gaon on Dan.
 “ vii. 13. Indeed their Targum justifies all that our Saviour said
 “ in this place [Mat. xxii. 43], not only in acknowledging that this
 “ Psalm was composed by David, but also that it was written *for* the
 “ *Messias*” (Allix’s Judgment, p. 55). And as to the other text,
the Lord rained from the Lord, the Jews “ acknowledge distinctly,—
 “ that those two Jehovahs are *two persons*—: R. Menach. fol. 11.
 “ col. 1. and fol. 63. col. 4” (p. 164).

“ Well then does the very wise Moses say,—be-
 “ ginning the cosmogony with *him*, In the—begin-
 “ ning God created the heaven and the earth ^g.
 “ With *him*, he introduces God in the creation of
 “ man, as communing with his domestick and
 “ first-begotten Logos; when he writes, “ and
 “ God said, Let us make man after our image and
 “ our likeness.” To this also the Psalmist al-
 “ luded, when, in discoursing of the First Cause,
 “ he says, “ He spake and they were made, He
 “ commanded and they were created;” placing
 “ the order and command of the First Cause op-
 “ posed to the Second, as of the Father to the Son.
 “ Truly it is self-evident, that he who speaks any
 “ thing speaks it to another, and he who com-
 “ mands any thing commands it to another beyond
 “ himself. And Moses expressly mentioning both
 “ the two Lords, namely the Father and Son, thus
 “ reports concerning the punishment against the
 “ ungodly, “ And the Lord rained from the Lord,
 “ brimstone and fire upon Sodom and Gomorrah.”
 “ In harmony with which, David says in his
 “ Psalms, “ The Lord said to my Lord, Sit thou
 “ on my right hand ^h.”

In

^g This plainly refers the word *Αρχη* or Beginning to the Logos; just as several of the Fathers, and of the *Rabbins*, unite to refer it (Bull, p. 185—186 and Allix's Judgment, p. 161 and 164).

^h P. 188—190. Τὰ παρ' Εβραίοις λογία, μέγα την αναρχον και αγεν-
 νηλον τω θεω των ολων εστιαν, αμικλον εσαν, και επεκεινα πασης κατηλειφως,
 δευτερον

In this passage we see the Deity of the Son of God, still farther displayed to us from the archives of the Jewish faith. “The oracles among the “Hebrews,” we are told, “after the un-caused “and un-generated person of the God of all,—

δεύτεραν ὡς ἰαν καὶ θεῖαν δυνάμιν, Ἀρχὴν τῶν γενήτων ἀπάντων, πρῶτην τε ὑποστάσαν, καὶ τὴν πρῶτην αἰδίαν γεγεννημένην, εἰσαγῶσι, Λόγον, καὶ Σοφίαν, καὶ Θεὸν Δυνάμιν αὐτὴν προσαγορεύοντες.—Τὸν τῶν ἀπάντων δημιουργικὸν λόγον θεὸς, τὸν εὐφραδιστὰς τὸν τρόπον.—Τὸν δὲ τὸν ἐνθεὸν λόγον, διαφορῶς ἢ θεῖα γραφὴ πρὸς τὴν Πατρὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίᾳ πεπεμμένον, εἰσαγῶσι αὐτὸν δ’ ἐν καὶ τῷ Ἀβραάμ, Μωσῇ τε, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοφιλεσι προφηταῖς, φησὶ αὐτὸν, καὶ χρησμοῖς τὰ πολλὰ παιδεύσαι τε, καὶ θεοπιστᾶν τὰ μελλόντα, ἰστέρι, ὁπῆνικα θεὸν καὶ κύριον ὦθαι τε, καὶ εἰς λόγους τῶν προφητῶν ἐλθεῖν, μνημονεύει.—Εἰκότως δὴ—καὶ Μωσῆς ὁ πανσοφός, ἀρχόμενος τῆς κατ’ αὐτὸν κοσμογονίας, ἐν τῇ—ἀρχῇ πεποίηκεν αὐτὸν θεὸν τὸν ἄρατον καὶ τὴν γῆν φησὶν· αὐτῷ τε εἰσαγῶσι, ὡς ἂν οἰκῶν καὶ πρῶτογονῶν αὐτῷ λόγῳ κοινολογούμενον, ἐπὶ τῆς τῆς ἀνθρώπων δημιουργίας τὸν θεόν, ἐν οἷς γραφεί, Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός, Ποιήσωμαι ἄνθρωπον κατ’ εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν. Τὸ δὲ καὶ ὁ ψαλμῶδης ἡνιτῆλο, ὁπῆνικα περὶ τῆς πρῶτης αἰδίας διεξιῶν, αὐτὸς φησὶν, Εἶπε καὶ ἐγεννηθήσαν, αὐτὸς ἐνέλειλατο καὶ ἐκίσθησαν· ἀνίκρυς τὴν τῆς πρῶτης πρὸς τὸ δεύτερον αἰδίον, ὡς ἂν Πατὴρ πρὸς Υἱόν, διατάξιν τε καὶ παρακελεύσιν ὑφισταμένος· πάντῃ γὰρ δηκῶθεν δῆλον, ὡς πᾶς ὁ λέγων τι, εἰρῶ λέγει, καὶ ὁ ἐνέλλομενος, εἰρῶ παρ’ αὐτὸν ἐνέλλεται. Διαρρηδὴν δ’ αὖ ὁ Μωσῆς ἀμφὶ δύοιν μνημονεύων Κυρίων, Πατὴρ δὴ καὶ Υἱός, ὡς πῇ ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀστέων τιμωρίας ἰστέρι, λέγων, Καὶ ἐβρέξε Κύριος παρὰ Κυρίῳ ἐπὶ Σόδομα καὶ Γομορρα θεῖον καὶ πυρὸς συμφωνῶς καὶ ὁ Δαβὶδ ψάλλων ἐφῆσιν, Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος τῷ Κυρίῳ μου, Καθὼς ἐκ δεξιῶν μου. Here I have translated the word ὡς ἰαν person, because the whole context demands the translation. So in Sect. VIIth. hereafter I equally, for the same reason, render both ὡς ἰαν and φύσις. The former, which πῶς signifies only essence, was then used at times as it is here, for person. The latter also has had the same fate. But ὑπόστασις has had just the reverse, formerly signifying essence or substance, and now signifying only subsistence or person (Bull, p. 103—107 and 143 and 205). And this passage, and that in Sect. VIIth, need only to be read, in order to convince every one decisively on the point.

“ introduce a second person and divine power.” This was “ the Principle of all created things, subsisting the first,” or before them all; *because* he was “ the Principle” or Creative Cause to them all, and *because* he was “ generated out of the First Cause” himself. And he was denominated by the Jews, as he equally is by the Christians, “ the Logos, and the Wisdom, and the Power, of God” the Father. This “ Logos of God” therefore was the Being, who in his own person “ fabricated the universe.” He is also the Being, whom “ the Holy Scripture” of the Old Testament “ introduces at different times, as sent by the Father for the safety of men;” and whom it “ therefore reports to have shown himself to Abraham, to Moses, and the other prophets, who were dear to God.” I have proved at full length from Philo before, that the God, who appeared to Moses and Abraham, in the opinion of the Jews was the Logos or Son of God. But he was also the God, who “ taught many things” to the Jews, “ by oracles” of visions, of Urim and Thummim, and of common inspiration; and who “ foretold” them “ things to come,” by all these mediums of miraculous intelligence. He indeed was the “ God and the Lord,” who “ appeared to and conversed with” all “ the prophets,” from the beginning of the Mosaick history, and the commencement of man and the world. And he is even introduced

introduced by the history, as acting "in the" very "creation of man;" when God said, "Let us make man after our image and our likeness;" and so said, "as communing with his domestick and first-begotten Logos." So long has this passage of Scripture been applied, to a divided personality in the Godhead!¹ With such a steady uniformity of pace, has the church of God gone on in all ages of its existence, Jewish and Christian; to pitch upon some passages of Scripture, as directly expressive of it! Nor let us, in the strong beams of light around us at present, despise these fainter gleams of day. They irradiated the Jews, they irradiate us. And they show us, that the same luminary of truth, which now shines "in all the firmament of its power" upon Christendom, once shone very brightly upon Judæa too.

To this "also the Psalmist alluded," we are told, "when in discoursing of the First Cause he says; "He spake and they were made, He commanded and they were created." This interpretation of the Psalm is singular in itself, and yet just in appearance. In the ordinary and popular acceptation of the words, we refer the command to the Godhead, and ascribe the execution to matter; as we must do, when the Son is represented in the act of speaking creatively. But the

¹ It is also applied by Justin Martyr, p. 358—359 and 285.

other interpretation keeps the whole in a new and more natural allusion, to the primogenial speech of God at the creation; considers the Father as again saying in effect to the Son, "Let *us* make an universe;" and represents the Son, as instantly creating the universe. "He," the Father, "spake, and they were made" by the Son; "He," the Father, "commanded, and they were created" by the Son. The Psalmist thus "places the order and command of the First Cause, opposed to the Second; as of the Father to the Son." For truly it is self-evident, that he who speaks any thing speaks it to another, and he who commands any thing commands it to another, beyond himself." And, as may be forcibly added in vindication of this Jewish comment, the God who *here* "commanded," and who *here* "spake," spake not to matter but to spirit; and commanded not spirit that had been created itself, and therefore could not possibly be a Creator; but spake to him, by whom "they were" to be "made," and commanded him, by whom "they were" actually "created^k."

Indeed,

^k "It is natural for Christians to conceive, that where it is said so often Gen. i, *and God said*, there God spoke *to* his Word, by which St. John writes that all things were made.—For this we have the judgment of the ancient synagogue, which looked on the Word or Λόγος as a true cause and agent, *to* whom God spoke, and who by an infinite power wrought the several works of the six days"

(Allix's

Indeed, when we see such a striking address as this of God's to some other Being, directing him to act immediately in the formation of man, and appearing in the fore-front of the Scriptural pages; when we see the same idea of Duality recurring at times in the other pages, and a double Jehovah exhibited again and again to our faith; and when we find the double Jehovah in one of these pages, actually recognized by the Jews of our Saviour's days, and actually acknowledged by our Saviour himself: we must expect there will be many intimations of this truth, incidentally thrown out in other places of Scripture; and we may be very sure, that they were generally noticed there by those, who were so much more assiduous than we are in reading the Scriptures, and so much more studious of Scriptural knowledge, the religious and thinking Jews of former times.

3.—“ After

(Allix's Judgment, p. 125—126). And so Irenæus actually explains this very Psalm (Adv. Hær. iii. 8); as do others in Bull, p. 75 and 98.

I Some of these intimations I will recite: Gen. i. 1, “ in the beginning God [*original*, the Gods] created the heaven and the earth;” Gen. iii. 5, “ you shall be as Gods;” Gen. xx. 13, “ when God [*original*, the Gods] caused me to wander from my father's house;” Gen. xxxv. 7, “ Jacob built an altar, and called the place El-Beth-el, because there God [*original*, the Gods] appeared unto him;” Deut. iv. 7, “ who hath God [*original*, the Gods] so nigh unto them;” Joshua xxiv. 19, “ ye cannot serve *the Lord*, for *he* is an holy God [*original*, the holy Gods];” 2 Sam. vii. 23, “ whom God [*original*, the Gods] went to redeem for a people

3.—“ After this manner does Moses philosophize, in his prefaces to the Sacred Laws:—that “ there

“ ple to *himself* ;” Proverbs xxx. 3, “ I neither learned wisdom, nor
 “ have knowledge of the Holy [*original*, of the Holies] ;” Eccl. xii. 1,
 “ remember now thy Creator [*original*, thy Creators] in the days of
 “ thy youth ;” and Isaiah liv. 5, “ thy Maker is thy husband [*ori-*
 “ ginal, thy Makers are thy husbands], *the Lord* of Hosts is *his*
 “ name.” We have three other marks of this plurality in the God-
 head : Gen. iii. 22, “ the Lord God said, Behold, the man is be-
 “ come as one of *us* to know good and evil,” explained by i. 26,
 “ let *us* make man in *our* image, after *our* likeness,” and by iii. 5,
 “ ye shall be as Gods, knowing good and evil ;” Gen. xi. 7—9,
 “ *the Lord* said, Go to, let *us* go down and there confound their
 “ language,—so *the Lord*—did there confound their language ;” and
 Isaiah vi. 8, “ I heard the voice of *the Lord* saying, Whom shall I
 “ send, and who will go for *us* ?” We have also these : Psalm xlv.
 6—7, “ thy throne, O *God*, is for ever and ever,—therefore *God*,
 “ even *thy* *God*, hath anointed thee ;” Isaiah xlviii. 16—17, “ come
 “ ye near unto *me*, hear ye this, I have not spoken in secret from the
 “ beginning, from the time that it was there am I, and now *the Lord*
 “ *God* and *his Spirit* hath sent *me*, Thus saith the Lord thy Re-
 “ deemer, the Holy One of Israel, I am *the Lord thy God* ;” Jeremiah
 xxiii. 5—6, “ behold the days come, saith *the Lord*, that I will raise
 “ unto David a righteous branch,—and this is *his* name whereby *he*
 “ shall be called, *The Lord our Righteousness* ;” Hoseah i. 6—7,
 “ *God* said,—I will have mercy upon the house of Judah, and will
 “ save them by *the Lord their God* ;” and Zechariah ii. 8—11,
 “ thus saith *the Lord of Hosts*, after the glory hath *he* sent *me* unto the
 “ nations which spoiled you,—and ye shall know that *the Lord of*
 “ *Hosts* hath sent *me*, sing and rejoice, O daughter of Zion, for lo I
 “ come, and I will dwell in the midst of thee, and thou shalt know
 “ that *the Lord of Hosts* hath sent *me* unto thee.” See Allix’s Judg-
 ment, p. 118—119, &c. &c. “ The Talmudists themselves were so
 “ persuaded of a plurality expressed in the word *Elohim* [the plural
 “ of the word *Eloah*], as to teach in Title Megilla c. i. fol. 11, that
 “ the

“ there is an archetype and true image of the God
 “ of all, his Logos; being very Wisdom and very
 “ Life, and Light, and Truth, and whatever Fair
 “ and Good can be imagined: and that there is an
 “ image of this image, the Human Mind; by
 “ which circumstance, man is confessed to have been
 “ made after the image of God^m. ”

The Logos is here described, as from “ Moses
 “ philosophizing ” in the preliminary part of the

“ the LXX interpreters did purposely change the notion of plura-
 “ lity, couched in the Hebrew plural, into a Greek singular [*θεος* for
 “ *θεοι*], as they did also on Gen. i. 26 and xi. 7; lest Ptolomy Phi-
 “ ladelphus should conclude, that the Jews, as well as himself, had
 “ a belief of polytheism. That was taken notice of by St. Jerome,
 “ in his preface to the Book De Quæst. Hebr.” (Allix, p. 124).
 Indeed the doctrine of a plurality in the Godhead, was so habitually
 impressed upon the minds of the Jews in general; that in Tobit viii.
 6, Tobias citing by memory these words in Gen. ii. 18, “ I will
 “ make him an help meet for him,” actually repeats them thus, “ O
 “ God of our fathers,—thou hast said,—Let *us* make unto him an
 “ aid like unto himself ” (Allix, p. 101—102). And “ it is clear
 “ how sensible the Jews have been, that there is a notion of plurality
 “ plainly imported in the Hebrew text; since they have *forbidden*
 “ *their common people the reading of the history of the creation, lest, un-*
 “ *derstanding it literally, it should lead them into heresie* ” [that is, into
 the belief of the Gospel and the Trinity]. “ Maimon. Mor. Neboch.
 “ p. 11. c. 29 ” (Allix, p. 132). “ R. Eliezer, who lived under
 “ Trajan,—observed that the reading of *the Old Testament* made the
 “ Jews turn hereticks, i. e. Christians ’ (p. 326).

^m P. 186. Ταῦτα τοι ὁ Μωσῆς ἐν προοιμίοις τῶν ἱερῶν νομῶν φιλοσοφεῖ,
 —εἶναι—ἀρχέτυπον καὶ ἀληθὴ τέ θεῶ τῶν ὅλων εἰκόνα, τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, Αὐ-
 τοσοφίαν τυγχανούσῃ καὶ Αὐτοζῶνῃ, καὶ Φῶς καὶ Ἀληθείαν, καὶ εἶτι Καλὸν
 καὶ Ἀγαθόν τις ἐπινόησεν· εἰκόνα δὲ εἰκόνος, τὸν ἀνθρώπου νῦν, παρ’ οὗ καὶ
 καὶ εἰκόνα θεῶ γεγονέναι ἀνωμολογῆται.

Jewish

Jewish law; to be “an archetype and true image of the God of all.” He is also described from the same philosophy, to be “very Wisdom and very Life;” to be the great fountain of wisdom to all the intelligent parts of the creation, and the great wellspring of life to all the animated. He thus becomes “Light and Truth” to the creation, Light to all the Spirits, and Truth to all the Minds, in it; and is also “whatever Fair and Good can be imagined,” the author of all mental advances, and the cause of all spiritual improvements, that either actually exist at present, or can be imagined possible to exist hereafter, in the soul of man. And all results from this one principle, that the soul of man “is an image of this image,” the very stamp of the Logos, and the very part “by which—” man is confessed to have been made, after the “image of God.”

So clearly is the Divine sufficiency of the Son of God, asserted in this short passage! Nor can we hesitate a moment, concerning the Jewish belief in all this. We have already seen Philo, speaking so nearly in the very same language; that we are apt to think the passage at first, to be only a transcript from his writings. It is a transcript certainly of his ideas. But then this arises, from Eusebius and Philo copying the same original. Both took the principles of the Jews, as they were professed in their belief, and as they were deduced from their Scriptures.

tures. And the signal coincidence between them in this one extract, confirms the credit of Eusebius in it and in all.

4.—“ The opinions of the Hebrews concerning
“ God, the First Cause of the universe.”

“ Thus has Moses begun his theology: “ In the
“ beginning God created the heaven and the earth.”
“ Then he says, “ God said, Let there be light,
“ and there was light.” And again, “ God said,
“ Let there be a firmament, and it was so.” And
“ again, “ God said, Let the earth bring forth
“ grass—, and it was so.” And again, “ God
“ said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the
“ heaven—, and it was so.”—Such indeed is
“ the theology received among the Hebrews, which
“ teaches all things to have been framed by the fa-
“ bricating Logos of God. And it afterwards in-
“ forms us, that the whole world was not left thus
“ desolate by him who framed it, as an orphan left
“ by a father; but is for ever governed by the Pro-
“ vidence of God: so that God is not only the Fa-
“ bricator and Maker of the whole, but also the
“ Preserver, and Governour, and King, and Ruler;
“ presiding continually over the sun itself, and the
“ moon, and the stars, and the whole heaven and
“ the world; with his great Eye and Divine Power
“ inspecting all things, and being present to all
“ things heavenly and earthly, and directing and
“ governing all things in the world.—Concerning
“ the

“ the framing of the world; concerning the turns
 “ and changes of the whole, the substance of the
 “ soul, and the fabrication of the seen and unseen
 “ nature of all rational beings; and concerning the
 “ Providence over all; and concerning what are
 “ yet above these, the First Cause of all, and the
 “ theology of the Second; and concerning other
 “ things, that are comprehensible by the understand-
 “ ing alone; the Hebrews have wound their dis-
 “ courses and their theories, well and accurately
 “ round:—that we may know, the universe is not
 “ spontaneously directed, or hath been always ex-
 “ isting at random and by chance, from an irrational
 “ guidance; but is conducted by that charioteer of
 “ God the Logos, and is governed by the power
 “ of unspeakable wisdom.”

The

P. 186—187. Εβραίων δοξαι περι θεου, τε πρωτη των ολων αιτιη.

Ωδε πως ο Μωσης απηρξατο της θεολογιας, Εν αρχη εποιησεν ο θεος τον
 υρανον και την γην· ειπα φησιν, Ειπεν ο Θεος, Γενεθητω φως, και εγενετο φως.
 Και παλιν, Ειπεν ο Θεος, Γενεθητω στερωμα, και εγενετο. Και παλιν,
 Ειπεν ο Θεος, Βλαστησατω η γη βοτανην χορην,—και εγενετο. Και αυτις,
 Ειπεν ο Θεος, Γενεθητωσαν φωστηρες εν τω στερωματι τε υρανω—, και εγενετο.
 —Τοιαυτη μεν η καθ’ Εβραιους θεολογια, λογω θεου δημιουργικω τα παντα συ-
 νεσαναι παιδευσα. Επειτα δε, οχ ωδε ερημον, ως ορφανον υπο πατρος,
 καταλειφθεντα τον συμπαντα κοσμον υπο της συζησαμενης διδασκει, αλλ’
 εις το αει υπο της τε θεου προνοιας αυτον διοικεσθαι· ως μη μονον δημιουργον
 ειναι των ολων και ποιητην τον θεον, αλλα και σωτηρα, και διοικητην, και
 βασιλεα, και ηγεμονα, ηλιω αυτω, και σεληνη, και αστροις, και τω συμ-
 παντι υρανω τε και κοσμω δι’ αιωνος επιτατηντα, μεγαλω τε οφθαλμω και ενθεω
 δυναμει παντ’ εφορωντα, και τοις πασιν υρανοις τε και επιγειοις επιπαροντα,
 και τα παντα εν κοσμω διατατηντα τε και διοικωντα. P. 307. Περι συσ-
 τασεως κοσμου, τα τε περι της τε παντος τροπης τε και αλλοιωσεως, ψυχης
 τε περισιας, και λογικων απαντων φυσεως, ορωμενης τε και αφανης, δημι-
 ουργιας,

The creative and the providential powers of the Logos, are here laid fully before us from the sanctuary of the Jews. The Logos is declared to be the God, who comes forth with so much dignity in the Book of Genesis; and prosecutes the work of forming a world, with such a majestick brevity of speech. He speaks, chaos hears, and an universe is framed. "Let there be light," cried the Logos; and light instantly started into existence. "Let there be a firmament," the Logos said; and a firmament, at the word, expanded itself over the earth. "Let the earth bring forth grass," did the Logos pronounce; and a gay covering of verdure directly spread over the unsightly face of the globe. And "let there be light in the firmament of the heaven," the Logos spoke; and immediately the sun, the moon, and the stars, showed themselves in the front of heaven. Thus does "the theology received among the Hebrews,—teach all things to have been framed by *the fabricating Logos of God.*" Nor does it teach this alone. "It informs us" also, "that the whole world was not left thus desolate by *him who framed it*, as an orphan left by a father." No! It tells us, that "it is for ever

εργίας, της τε τε καθολα προνοιας, και των εις προλερον, τα περι τε πρωτα των ολων αιων, της τε τε δευτερε θεολογιας, και των αλλων των διανοια μονη ληπλων, της λογης και της θεωριας ευ και ακριβως περιειληφασιν.—Ειδεναι, οτι τε μη απηυλομαλιστα το παν, μηδ' εινη και ως ειυχεν εξ αλογη φορας υφεστηκεν· αγειται δ' υφ ηνιοχω θεα λογω, και δυναμει σοφιας αρετης διακυβερναται.

"governed"

“governed” by the Logos who framed it, as “by
“the Providence of God.” The “God” Logos
is “not only the Fabricator and Maker of the
“whole, but also the Preserver, and Governour,
“and King, and Ruler” of it. Thus is the Son
of God “presiding continually over the sun itself,
“and the moon, and the stars, and the whole
“heaven and the world; with his great Eye and
“Divine Power inspecting all things, and being
“present to all things heavenly and earthly, and
“directing and governing all things in the world.”
And the whole system of “the universe,—is con-
“ducted by that charioteer of God the Logos; and
“is governed by the power of unspeakable Wis-
“dom,” under the guidance of his reining hand.

That these were the sentiments of the Jews concerning him, however grand they appear in themselves, and however declaratory they are of Divinity in him; we have seen sufficiently before, in considering the correspondent extracts from Philo. Philo and Eusebius unite to prove the Jews firmly persuaded, that the God who called all nature out of the vacuity of chaos at first, and the God who preserves all nature from relapsing into its natural state of vacuity again, was the Logos of God the Father. Many Jews had written upon the subject of his Divinity, in the days of Philo. Many here appear, to have written upon this article of it. And “the Hebrews,” we are expressly told, “have
“wound

“wound their discourses and their theories, well
“and accurately round” upon the point.

5.—We have already seen the attestation of Eusebius, that the Jews believed the Logos, who made and who governs the world, to have been the God who interposed so remarkably in their national affairs, by appearing to Abraham, to Moses, and to their other worthies of almost every age. We have also seen Philo, coinciding exactly with Eusebius on the subject. But I shall now proceed to prove it, by the attestation of a Heathen; and so produce a third evidence, additional to the other two.

In that curious compilation of historical commentaries, which was once made by a man now almost unknown by name, one Alexander, concerning the events of the Jewish annals; and which, from their multiplicity, gave him the appellation of Polyhistor in antiquity; this author had collected some pieces, that were purely and simply historical in themselves, and others that were of too poetical a nature to be considered as such. His works indeed have since perished, and the labour of a life perhaps has been buried in the dust. With him have perished too all the commentaries, that he had accumulated together; and nothing remains of the whole, but a few fragments in some extracts made by Eusebius. On such a precarious tenure do authors hold their existence, in this world of disso-

P

lution;

lution; unless there be a state of renovation for authors as for men, and the useful and virtuous are to be rescued from the violence of time, and their writings to come forth again in a form, as immortal as their readers! Yet Alexander Polyhistor, says Eusebius, was “ a man of great understanding and
 “ great learning, very celebrated among those Græ-
 “ cians, who have not made an idle use of their
 “ education; and he, in his compilation concern-
 “ ing the Jews, gives these historical accounts of
 “ Abraham.” And as the earliest quoter of him, is an author of the first century; so is he himself reported to have lived, about two hundred years before our Saviour°. Polyhistor first produces Eupolemus; a Græcian, who “ in his account of the
 “ Jews says concerning Assyria, that the city of
 “ Babylon was originally inhabited by *those who*
 “ *were saved out of the flood*; that they were *giants*,
 “ and built *the tower so much spoken of in history*;
 “ and that, the tower falling under the operation
 “ of God, the *giants were dispersed over all the*
 “ *earth*:” a piece of historical information, which explains at once the wild tale of Heathenism concerning the giants scaling heaven, and refers it to

° P. 244—245. Ο Πολυιστωρ Αλεξανδρος, πολυνες ων και πολυμαθης ανηρ, τοις τε μη παρεργον τον απο παιδειας καρπον πεποιημενοις Ελλησι γνωριμωτατος, ος εν τη περι Ιουδαιων συλλαξει τα καλα τον Αβρααμ τιθον ιστορει καλα λεξιν τον τροπον. He is quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus, p. 396, a whole century before Eusebius; and by Josephus a whole century before that, Eusebius, p. 246.

its true place in history^p. Polyhistor next produces Artapanus, who, “in his book concerning the “Jews,” speaks similarly of Abraham “going “against the *giants*,” and says that “these, inhabiting Babylon, were destroyed by the Gods “for their impiety;” a false circumstance, that brings the true history into a nearer assimilation with the fable^q. And Artapanus and Eupolemus relate many incidents of the Abrahamick history, in the same manner; by interlacing truth with false-

^p P. 245. Εὐπολεμος δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰουδαίων τῆς Ἀσσυρίας φησὶ, πολλὴν Βαβυλῶνα πρῶτον μὲν κτισθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν διασωθέντων ἐκ τῆς κατακλυσμῆς, εἶναι δὲ αὐτῆς Γίγαντας, οἰκοδομεῖν δὲ τὸν ἱεροῦμενον πύργον. πεσόντος δὲ τῆς ὑπὸ τῆς τῆς θεᾶς ἐνεργείας, τῆς Γίγαντας διασπαρῆναι καθ’ ὅλην τὴν γῆν.

^q P. 245—246. Ἀρτάπανος δὲ φησὶν ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις,—τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἀναφερόντα εἰς τῆς Γίγαντας, τῆς δὲ οἰκίας ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ, διὰ τὴν ἀσεβείαν ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἀναιρεθῆναι. The same allusion to the giants, was equally kept up among the Jews; but it referred to an earlier period, even an ante-diluvian one. God “was not pacified,” says the Son of Sirach, “toward *the old giants*, who fell away in the “strength of their foolishness; neither spared he the place where “Lot sojourned,” &c. (Ecclus. xvi. 7—8). “In the old time “also,” adds Philo, “when *the proud giants* perished, the hope of “the world, governed by thy hand, *escaped in a weak vessel*, and “left to all ages a seed of generation” (Wisdom xiv. 6). “There “were,” as the nominal Baruch subjoins, “*the giants* famous from “the beginning, that were of so great stature, and *so expert in war*” (iii. 26). And these passages refer only to that piece of ante-diluvian history, which says “there were *giants* in the earth in those “days—; the same became mighty men, which were of old men of “renown” (Gen. vi. 4). So different are the giants of Sacred History, from those of Profane!

hood. Polyhistor next brings forward Philo, a writer very different from the Jew before, much older than he, and actually a Heathen; who wrote a poem upon Jerusalem, and in it speaks obscurely of Abraham offering up his son^r. And Polyhistor, for a fourth voucher, sets Demetrius before his reader. This Græcian gives an account of Jacob's departure from Isaac to Laban, of his stay with Laban, of his marriage with the two daughters of Laban, of his children by them, of his return to Isaac, and of his going down into Egypt; ending with his death there, and the genealogy of Moses from him. All this he does with so much particularity of time, incident, and place; as shows him undoubtedly to have had access to the writings of

^r P. 246.

Εκλυον αρχεγονοισι το μυριον, ως ποτε θεσμοις
Αβρααμ κλυσηχες υπερειρον κ. Γ. λ.

From these lines it is evident, that the name of Abraham, which is pronounced short by us, is really long in itself. See Eusebius, p. 268—269, for this Philo being a Heathen. The words are taken from Josephus, and are these in his treatise *Contra Apionem*, p. 1351. Hudson; ο μέντοι φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος, καὶ Φιλων ὁ πρεσβύτερος, καὶ Εὐπολεμος, ὅτι πολὺ τῆς ἀληθείας διημαρτόν. Those who were not far from the truth, must have been Heathens; and all three were equally so. "Hence Philonem," says Hudson, "inter Ethnicos recenset Josephus; quem si sequamur (inquit Lowthius) concidit illorum sententia, qui *Librum Sapientiae* ipsi tanquam Auctori, aut saltem Interpreti, tribuunt." These authors confound Philo the Elder with Philo the Younger, the Historian with the Divine, and the Heathen with the Jew.

Moses,

Moses, either in their original Hebrew, or in some translation of them^s. That he had *not* inspected them in the original, the very translation of them under Ptolemy Philadelphus, by persons sent for on purpose from Judæa, and merely to grace the new library at Alexandria with a legible copy of them; is a sufficient evidence of itself. That there was no translation of them *before*, is equally evident from the making of this, and from the total non-appearance of any other^t. Demetrius therefore was one of those, who with Eupolemus, Artapanus, the elder Philo, and one Theodotus, the writer of another historical poem on the Jews, all equally produced by Polyhistor^u; lived after the Hebrew code was laid open to the Greeks, by the Septuagint version. The curiosity of him and of them was very strongly excited, by those records of heaven

^s P. 247—249.

^t A Jew, who lived about a hundred and thirty years after the Septuagint translation was made, alledges there was another before (Eusebius, p. 388). But he alledges it, merely to favour an hypothesis of his own; that the coincidence of sentiments concerning God in many Heathens with the Bible, was occasioned by their knowledge of Moses' writings: when it was plainly occasioned, by the original theology of both being exactly the same. The Jewish and the Heathen theologies were two streams, flowing from the same fountain of revelation; only separating very early, then sadly stained in one, and remaining pure in the other. And even he does not pretend to adduce any proof, or even to assign any reason but his own hypothesis, for his allegation.

^u Eusebius, p. 249.

(as it were) being now unrolled for the first time, to the eye of Heathenism; and by the primitive history of man, being now revealed at last to the nations of the globe. And he was in fact that very Demetrius Phalereus, who gained himself so much honour by his government of Athens; and who had even the higher honour, of being an instrument in the hands of Providence, for publishing the Jewish Revelation to the kingdoms of the earth. He lived therefore about two hundred and eighty years before our Saviour, about eighty before Polyhistor, and about six hundred before Eusebius^x.

^x Eusebius, p. 206, from Aristæus speaks of Δημήτριος ὁ φालήρευσ advising the translation; then gives us a letter from "Demetrius Phalereus," which begins thus, "To the great king from Demetrius;" in p. 241 cites Aristobulus at second hand for saying, that there was a translation "before *Demetrius*;" and in p. 247 produces Polyhistor as saying, "*Demetrius* tells us that Jacob" &c. The same personage is spoken of by a continuity of reference, in all these places. And in another quotation made by Eusebius, as I have already shown, Josephus adds; that "*Demetrius Phalereus*, and Philo the Elder, and Eupolemus, were not far from the truth." The historian, the archon, and the adviser, therefore, were one and the same person. Demetrius must have advised the measure of a translation, either instantly upon the commencement of the sole sovereignty of Philadelphus, as he continued not a favourite long after; or else in the time of Philadelphus's joint sovereignty with his father, by whom the library was founded. See Ant. Univ. Hist. ix. 370—373 and x. 238—245. In the latter volume, the writer, who was the late Mr. Palsmanazar, has made some objection to Aristæus's history of this version, from Demetrius being said to advise the measure; forgetting the interval of favour at the beginning of Philadelphus's reign, and overlooking all the joint sovereignty before.

Yet

Yet even he, in reciting the actions of Jacob, catches so much of the spirit of the Jews in understanding them; that he speaks thus of the Being who appeared to Jacob at Peniel, and whom the Scriptures themselves call a Man from his human appearance, but intimate plainly to be God. "As Jacob was coming into Canaan," he says, "an *Angel* of God wrestled with him." That the Jews in all ages understood this Being, to be the only *human* exhibitor of the Godhead in himself, the Logos; we have seen before from Philo and the antient rabbies. But we may see it again, from an authority much older, as well as much superior; one of the prophets. "Jacob," says God in Hosea, "—took his brother by the heel in the womb, and by his strength he had power with God; yea, he had power over the *Angel*, and prevailed; he wept and made supplication unto him; he found him in Bethel, and there he spake with us, even THE LORD GOD OF HOSTS, the Lord—his Memorial." The plural number, in which God here speaks of himself, is very remarkable, though it has never (I think) been no-

^y P. 247. Πορευομενω δε αυτω εις Χανααν αγγελον τε βεβη παλ-
λευσαι.

^z Ch. xii. 3—5. I have united the two verses together, the verb *is* of the latter being merely supplemental in our translation. And verse 9th "I that am the Lord thy God," shows God to be the speaker here.

ticed; is exactly in the style of other passages, that we have seen before; and unites with them, if there is any propriety in God's own language concerning himself, to indicate a positive plurality in the Godhead. Nor can the mode of speech which has been so often adduced, to take off the force of this argument; prove any thing but the folly of its adducers. On this wild plea, God is supposed to have used the plural style in speaking of himself, *because it would be the style of majesty three or four thousand years afterwards*, and in a north-western *angle of Europe*. But, even if this style had been as antient as it is modern, and as general as it is confined, that a single being, a king, should speak of himself as not single, as more than one; is an absolute barbarism in itself, however familiar to *our ears*. And any inference from such a fantastical absurdity, to Him who is Propriety itself; is a gross illusion of the understanding. As God speaks of himself occasionally in the plural number, though generally in the singular; he must certainly be both plural and singular, and therefore is plural in his personalities, for he is undoubtedly singular in his nature.

“When Jacob was come to Luz of Bethel,” adds Demetrius in the same strain with Hosea, “God said that he should be called Jacob “no longer, but Israel^a.” The original history,

^a Eusebius, p. 248. Φαναι τον θεον.

however,

however, is still stronger. "God said unto him," it tells us of Jacob returned to Bethel, "Thy name is Jacob; thy name shall not be called any more Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name; and he called his name Israel: and God said unto him, I am GOD ALMIGHTY ^b." And the prophet adds, we see, that he was the *Lord*, the *Lord God of Hosts*. That the same Being appeared to Jacob, both at Bethel and at Peniel; is evident from the same appellation of God, being attributed to him at both these appearances; and from the same declaration concerning the name of Jacob, being made by him at both. Yet the prophet and the historian unite, to declare him in the most explicit terms, to be God. And Demetrius, who calls him an Angel in the one place, denominates him God in the other; just as Hosea lends him the appellation of Angel, and then names him expressly the Lord God of Hosts. But Demetrius took the name of Angel, which is not in the Scriptural narrative, from the Jews about him; as they took it from the prophets, and from their own traditions antecedent to the prophets. In consequence of all, the word *Angel* was their customary designation for the Logos. They owned him, as the God of themselves and of their ancestors; but then they very properly distinguished him from God the Father, by

^b Chap. xxxv. 10—11.

calling

calling him occasionally an Angel. Hosea and Demetrius call him an Angel and God, in the same breath. And he was the Angel-God, the Missionary Jehovah, of their religion. That this is true, is demonstratively evident from what I have said. But let me prove it additionally from another prophet, one who was the last of the number, and lived about a hundred years only before Demetrius. "Behold, I will send my messenger," says the *Logos* in Malachi concerning John the Baptist; "and he shall prepare the way before ME; and THE LORD whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to HIS temple; even the *Messenger*" or *Angel* "of the Covenant, whom ye delight in: behold, he shall come, saith THE LORD OF HOSTS." Here then the *Logos* calls himself at once, the Angel of the Covenant, and the Lord, even the Lord of Hosts; *that*, to mark his originate subordination, and *these*, to indicate his intrinsic Deity. The Jews of Demetrius's time, only caught the light of truth from Malachi, from Hosea, and from Moses. Demetrius only received the light, which issued from *them*. And the vivacity of the gleam reflected to him, shows the brightness of the mirror reflecting it in them^d.

But

^c Chap. iii. 1, in the Septuagint version ο αγγελος της διαθηκης.

^d "I can add—their [the Jews] version of the 3d of Daniel, ver. 25; *Species quarti similis Filio Dei*, as saith Aquila a Jew, who
"lived

But Demetrius, like Artapanus and Eupolemus, refers to other and earlier authors for some of his intelligence. Thus Eupolemus, from some testimony extraneous to the Septuagint Scriptures, relates Moses to have been “the first who taught letters to the Jews;” when the fact is utterly incredible in itself, and directly confuted by the Christian Scriptures citing an *ante-diluvian* writing^e. Artapanus also, from some authority that is equally extraneous, and yet, from its chronological accuracy and minute particularity, is assuredly genuine; describes the very *person* of Moses, and says he was “tall, “fresh-coloured, grey-headed, long-haired, and “very venerable, being then about eighty-nine “years of age^f.” And Demetrius quotes at large one Ezekiel, who appears from his name to have been a Jew, and who was a composer of tragedies; the only play-wright, I think, that we have in all the history of the Jews. But his plays were merely such spiritual dramas, as were formerly common in our own country, and are so still in other regions of Christendom. Of such, that most religious of

“lived under Hadrian; but the ancient Greeks had translated it
“*similis Angelo Dei*, as saith an old Scholion related by Drusius in
“*Fragmentis*, p. 1213; which shows, that the *ancient* Hellenist had
“the *same* notion of the *Angel* of God, as of the *Son* of God”
(Allix’s Judgment, p. 110).

^e Eusebius, p. 252, and Jude 14.

^f Eusebius, p. 255. Γεγονεναι δε φησι τον Μωυσον μακρον, πυρρακη, πολιον, κομητην, αξιωματικον ταυτα δε πραξει περι ειη οντα ογδοηκοντα εννεα.

all our old poets, Milton, appears from some loose sketches still preserved in his own handwriting, to have formed several plans. His *Paradise Lost*, it is well known, was originally modelled for a tragedy; and the address of Satan to the sun, was the opening of it. But Ezekiel had formed, like Shakespeare, a train of plays upon a succession of events in the history of his country. It began with the migration of Jacob to Joseph in Egypt^g; and pursued the course of facts, till the narrative of a family swelled out into the history of a nation. He then wrote one tragedy, upon the departure of the Jews out of Egypt; and denominated it *Εξαγωγή*, or the *Eduction*^h. In this play Ezekiel notices of course, that introductory incident to all the greater events of Moses's life; the appearance of the glory in the burning bush. Philo has already *intimated* the glory, to be that of the Logos. But Ezekiel expresses the sentiment *in terms*. And Demetrius gives a *Divinity* to this Logos, in some occasional notices which he has derived from Ezekiel, and attached to the margin.

“ But concerning the burning bush,” says Demetrius, “ and the mission of Moses to Pharaoh; “ Ezekiel again introduces by turns, Moses holding “ a dialogue with God. Moses says:”

^g Eusebius, p. 255.

^h Ibid. p. 257.

“ Stop.

“ Stop, what is this appearance from the bush ?

“ A prodigy beyond the faith of men.

“ Sudden the bush is flaming with much fire,

“ But green upon it every leaf remains.

“ How's this ? I'll go, and view with nearer eye

“ This prodigy too mighty for belief.”

“ Then God addressess him:”

“ Stop, O most worthy, nor approach thou near,

“ O Moses, till thy foot-string thou hast loos'd ;

“ For holy is the ground on which thou stand'st,

“ And from the bush THE HEAVENLY LOGOS shines.

“ Be bold, my Son, and listen to my words:

“ To see my face is all impossible

“ For mortal man ; but thou may'st hear my words.

“ To utter them I'm come, I am the God

“ Of those thou call'st thy fathers, Abraham,

“ Isaac, and Jacob in succession third.

“ Remembering them, and my donations too,

“ I'm here to save my Hebrew race of men ;

“ For I have seen my servants' grief and toil.

“ But go, and in my words announce again,

“ First to the very Hebrews all at once,

“ Then to the king, what is by me enjoined ;

“ That out of Egypt thou shalt bring my race.”

“ Then subjoining some lines in return, Moses

“ himself speaks:”

“ I'm not by nature form'd an orator,

“ My tongue is often stubborn to my will,

“ And gives a hesitation to my voice ;

“ I cannot therefore speak before the king.”

“ Then God answers him thus:”

“ Send for thy brother Aaron instantly,

“ Then tell him all which thou hast heard from me ;

“ And

“ And he shall be the speaker to the king.”

.

“ And Ezekiel introduces God speaking thus,
“ concerning the wonders:”

.

“ For three whole days a darkness I will give;

“ Locusts I'll send, which all around shall eat

“ The fruits of man, and e'en the verdant leaf;

“ And, added to all this, my hand shall slay

“ The first begotten child of every house.

.

“ But thou shalt tell my people, when at eve

“ They sacrifice the Paschal Lamb to God,

“ That they shall touch their outer doors with blood;

“ And *the dread Angel*, seeing, shall pass by i.”

A play

¹ P. 258—259. Περι δε της καιομενης βαλῆς, και της αποστολης αὐτῆς της προς Φαραω, παλιν παρεισαγει δι' αμοιβαίων τον Μωσην τῷ θεῷ διαλεγόμενον. φησι δὲ ο Μωσης·

Εα. τι μοι σημειον εκ βαλῆς τοδε;

Τερασιον τε, και θροῖοις απιστον ον·

Αφνω βαλος μεν καιεῖται πολλῶ πυρι,

Αὐτῆ δε χλωρον παν μενει το βλασανον.

Τι δη; προελθων οψομαι τερασιον

Μεγιστον. η γαρ πωσιν ανθρωποις φερει.

Εἶλα ο θεος αὐτῷ προσομιλει·

Επισχες, ω φερῖς, μη προσεγγισης,

Μωση, πριν η των σων ποδων λυσαι δεσιν.

Αγια γαρ η γη, οπερ συ εφεστηκας, πελει·

Ο δ' εκ βαλῆ σοι θειος εκλαμπει λογος.

Θαρσησον, ω παι, και λογων ακα' εμων.

Ιδειν γαρ οψιν την εμην αμνηχανον

Θνητον γεγωῖα. των λογων δ' εξεσι σοι

Εμων ακειν. των εινεκεν εληλυθα.

Εγω θεος σων, ων λεγεις, γεννητορων,

Αἶσααμ

A play like Ezekiel's would be a prodigy, even in this land of Christianity; and one more wondered at

Αβρααμ τε και Ισαακ και Ιακωβ τε τριη.
Μνησθεις δ' εκεινων, και ελ' εμων δωρηματων,
Παρειμι σωσαι λαον Εβραιων εμον,
Ιδων κακωσιν και πονον δαλων εμων.
Αλλ' ερπε, και σημαινε τοις εμοις λογοις,
Πρωτον μεν αυλοις πασιν Εβραιοις ομν,
Επειτα βασιλει, τα υπ' εμν τελεαγμενα,
Οπως συ λαον τον εμον εξαγης χθονος.

Είλα υποδας τινα αμοιβαία, αυλος ο Μωσης λεγει.
Ουκ ευλογος πεφυκα, γλωσσα δ' εστι μοι
Δυσφρατος, ισχυροφωνος, ωσε μη λεγης
Εμνς γενεσθαι βασιλεως εναυλιον.

Είλα προς ταυτα ο θεος αυτω αποκρινεται.
Ααρωνα πεμψον σου κασιγνητον ταχυ,
Ω παντα λεξεις ταξ εμν λελεγμενα.
Καυλος λαλησει βασιλεως εναυλιον.

.

Εζηκηλος . . . λεγει, περι μεν των σημειων τον θεον παρεισαγων λεγοιτα
ψιως.

.
Σκολος δε θησω τρεις εφ ημερας ολας,
Ακριδας τε πεμψω, αι περι τα βρωμαλα
Απαντ' αναλωσθαι, και καρπη κλων.
Επι πασι τειλοις, τεκν' αποκλειω βροτων
Πρωτογονα.
Λεξεις δε λαω παντι,
. το Πασχα θυσαντας θεω
Τη προσθεν νυκτι, αιματι ψανσαι θυρας,
Οπως παρελθη σημα δεινος αγγελος.

That this is all quoted from Ezekiel by Demetrius, is evident. In p. 257 Eusebius cites Demetrius; and, at the end of a passage from Demetrius, enters upon these extracts from Ezekiel, as cited by Demetrius

at than admired. The introduction of an Angel, and especially of the Godman, into a tragedy, however religious in its design, and however conformable to Holy History in fact; would be considered as licentious profaneness by many of the serious, and as sanctified impertinence by all the giddy. We do not love to mingle our religion with our amusements. And we seem desirous to keep the former, sequestered from all the gaieties of life, and reserved for the solemnities of recollection. There is more or less of this spirit, in all nations and all ages. But *we* have carried the humour, much farther than our fathers did. Shakespeare's mind, however great and exalted in itself, was un-

metrius from him. In p. 259, before he has closed these extracts, he says thus: ταυτοῖς επαγει μέλα τινα τὰ μέλαξυ αὐτῷ εἰρημένα, λέγων· ταῦτα δὲ, φησιν, εἶω καὶ Εζηκίηλος ἐν τῇ Εξαγωγῇ λέγει: “to these he [Demetrius] adds, after some things said betwixt by himself, saying, “Ezekiel says in his Education.” In p. 260 Eusebius speaks thus: πάλιν μεθ’ ἑτέρα ἐπιλεγεί· φησι δὲ καὶ Εζηκίηλος ἐν τῷ δράματι κ. λ. λ.; “again after other things he [Demetrius] subjoins,” “and Ezekiel also says in his Drama” &c. And in p. 262 Eusebius once more tells us: “and again in a short time they [the Israelites] marched from the Red Sea three days, as *Demetrius* himself tells us.”

Artapanus, quoted equally from Polyhistor by Eusebius, “says “the fire was suddenly kindled out of the earth, and burned though “there was no wood or any other fuel at the place; that Moses in “fear fled; and that the Divine VOICE,” a term used hereafter by another Heathen for the Divine WORD (See eighth part of this Section at the end), “spoke to him:” αἰφνιδίως φησιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς πυρ ἀναφθῆναι, καὶ τῷ καεσθαι, μήτε ὕλης μήτε ἀλλῆς τινος ξυλείας ἔσης ἐν τῷ τοπῷ· τὸν δὲ Μωυσὸν, δεισαντῶν τὸ γένος, φευγεῖν, φωνὴν δ’ αὐτῷ θείαν εἰπεῖν (p. 253).

happily

happily tinged too little with religion. Yet even he has thrown out those strokes of religiousness at times, which every great and exalted mind must occasionally conceive; which no aversion to such strokes in the audience of a playhouse then, solicited him to suppress; but which no modern play-writer now dares to imitate. And that fine address of his Henry the Fifth to God, the night before the battle of Agincourt, has shocked the prejudices of many (I believe) in the present generation, though it pleasingly awes the heart of the judiciously religious. But the plays of Ezekiel were not calculated, for exhibition on the stage. The Jews, I think, had no playhouses. Like Milton's Sampson, and perhaps like all his other projected tragedies, they were intended only for the closet. This circumstance undoubtedly allowed a greater scope, for the introduction of heavenly personages. Ezekiel accordingly introduces an Angel, in a part of the tragedy which I have not cited; relating the destruction of the Egyptians in the Red Sea^k. And, as we have seen above, he even brings in God himself holding a dialogue with Moses. But then it is *the Human God*; it is the Logos, who so frequently appeared in a human form, to the worthies of the Old Testament; and who at last came, and *tabernacled* as a human being among us, at the commencement of the New^l.

^k Eusebius, p. 262.

^l John i. 14. σκηνοῶμεν.

Q

Of

Of the extraordinariness of such a conduct in Ezekiel, and consequently of the pre-eminence of such a faith in his cotemporaries, we may form a judgment at once; from the light in which a playwright would appear to us at present, who should take that similar incident in the Christian dispensation, the appearance of our Saviour to St. Paul near Damascus, and insert it in a tragedy for the parlour. A glory superior to that of the burning bush, and even more vivid than the meridian lustre of a Damascus sun, would be described as bursting suddenly from the sky, over the head of St. Paul. A human form would be said to appear before his lifted eye, arrayed in all the lightening of the God-head, and leaning from the clouds towards him. And a human voice would be equally said, to address him in that "voice of God" thunder; as he lay thrown to the ground, upon his back; and as he was gazing in wild amazement, at the terrible splendors of the Logos of Moses before him: to expostulate with him, on his opposition to irresistible Power; and to declare the God seen by and talking to him, to be that very Jesus whom he was opposing^m. Such a tragedy as this, was never planned

^m Acts ix. 3. "suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven," xxii. 6. "a great light," xxvi. 13. "above the brightness of the sun," and ix. 17. "the Lord, even Jesus,—appeared" to Saul. In ix. 10—15. *our Saviour* "the Lord" says
to

planned for an English reader. Milton, whose high-set soul was set so much higher still, by the elevating spirit of religion within; is the only one of our old writers, I think, who projected any religious tragedies at all. He even projected a number of them; one upon each of various incidents in the Jewish history. Yet, in none of these, did he venture to think of introducing God, even the God who is so often introduced in the history. In his room, he brings in those fancy-formed existences, Justice, Mercy, and Wisdom; and so violates the essential laws of the Drama, by introducing the personified Attributes of God, to avoid the introduction of the Divine Person himselfⁿ. And, since the days of Milton, I know not of any writer, that has projected a tragedy founded on religious story; except only one, whose slightest merit is to be a woman of genius and taste, as religiousness is infinitely superior to any mental accomplishments. Yet even Miss H. More has not ventured in her Sacred Dramas, to introduce any supernatural personage. She has even, like Ezekiel, a tragedy upon Moses; but on Moses in the bulrushes, not at the burning bush. Ezekiel, however, knew his countrymen to be better theologues in general, than

to Ananias, "Go thy way, for he [Saul] is a *chosen* vessel unto me;" and in xxii. 14. Ananias says to Saul, "*the God of our fathers* hath *chosen* thee."

ⁿ See his Smaller Poems by Newton (2d. edit.) I. 327—329 and 331—335.

Englishmen are; more studious to form just notions, concerning the elementary principles of their religion; and more tenaciously adhering to them, when they had formed them.

This extract from Ezekiel, therefore, is peculiarly important. So implicitly received among the Jews, was a faith in the Divinity of the Logos; so universally did the faith spread, through all ranks and degrees of life among them; and so interwoven was the faith, with all their common and all their solemn thoughts; that, even in a play, Ezekiel explicitly and familiarly announced this Divinity. He brings in God himself; a Being marked expressly as God by him, and by Demetrius from him; speaking to Moses. But he makes this God immediately declare himself, to be God the Son, the Divine Logos of God the Father. Yet he ascribes to him, the full efficacy and compleat energy of the Godhead. "To see MY face," he cries, "is all impossible for mortal man." He even affirms himself expressly, to be God; to be too that very God, who had shown himself so often to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob; and who had so graciously condescended, to call himself the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. The firmness of the popular belief is strikingly shown, in the solemnity of making *God himself* say this in a *play*. The sentiment was evidently lodged in the very heart of his readers, there acted
as

as the vital spark of their religion, and was there felt as the animating soul of their theology^o.

Nor is this all. The same Being is expressly introduced twice again, as GOD. He also declares himself to be the very Being, who is going to show all the wonders of his power upon Egypt. “*I* will give darkness,” he says; “*I* will send locusts;” and “my hand shall slay the first-begotten child of every house.” He thus grasps in his hand, as it were, the whole thunder of Omnipotence in the Godhead.

He particularly affirms he will do that, which he is made by the Book of Wisdom to do; when, as we have seen before, the ALMIGHTY WORD of God, this very Logos and GOD of Ezekiel, leaps from the throne of the Godhead in heaven, and fills the land of Egypt with death. The union of Philo and Ezekiel on such a point, and at such a distance

^o “R. Menachera—and his authors teach constantly, that it was the Shekinah [or Logos] which—appeared to *Jacob* at night, fol. 36. col. 2,—and to the *same* upon the ladder, fol. 41 and 42;—appeared to *Moses* Exod. iii. fol. 55. col. 2, and to the people upon Mount Sina, fol. 56. col. 2; spake to *Moses*, and gave the law to the people, fol. 57. col. 2 and 3, fol. 58. col. 1, and fol. 84. col. 1. and col. 2” (Allix’s Judgment, p. 165). “They say, that—the Shekinah alone was intrusted with the care and conduct of Israel, fol. 28. col. 3 and fol. 153. col. 2” (p. 166). “*Moses* being—employed by the *Word* of God” at the burning bush, as his messenger to the children of Israel; for the discharge of his ministry, had both his instructions and credentials from the *Word*, according to the Targums” (p. 215—216).

of time, gives the stamp of stability and the seal of sameness to the national faith, in this article.

But Ezekiel makes the Logos afterwards, to call *him* who was to slay the first-born, “the dread angel;” as distinct from, and inferior to, himself. He speaks of God also as distinct from himself; when he mentions the Israelites, “sacrificing the paschal lamb to God.” Nor does he mean any real distinction, by either. He has declared himself expressly, to be the God of the patriarchs and of the Jews; the God to whom *those* offered their sacrifices, and the God to whom *these* were to sacrifice their paschal lamb. He has likewise declared himself to be the very God, whose hand was to slay all the first-born. And he now shows us, as Demetrius has shown us before, in the same reference to the Logos for an angel; that originate subordination of the Logos to the Father, which is requisite to accompany his exhibited consubstantiality of Godhead with him. So much were the understandings of the Jews familiarized, to all the parts of this prime sentiment in their creed; that they were not perplexed with what English readers in general, from their habits of half-thinking about it, are pertly apt to call the niceties of artificial and scholastick theology; the Divinity of the Logos, positive in itself, yet subordinate to God the Father’s, and yet co-essential with his! Perplexity of ideas on a subject clear though complicated,

plicated, is always the child of unthinkingness, and the parent of presumption, among mankind. And, in the belief of the Jews, *this* angel who slew the first-born in Egypt, and *that* angel who wrestled with Jacob at Peniel, was the Angel of the Covenant from God the Father to mankind; even the Logos or Son of the Father, GOD ALMIGHTY, and THE LORD OF HOSTS; the JEHOVAH whom Abraham adored, whom Isaac worshipped, whom Jacob saw, and whom Moses beheld; the Lord of the temple at Jerusalem, from the time of Solomon to the time of Malachi; and the Sovereign of the universe, from the days of Moses, to the days of Hosea, to the days of Ezekiel, and to the days of Demetrius P.

6.—Nor is Demetrius the only author, who is cited by Eusebius in confirmation of his position, concerning the Jewish faith in this point. Having produced some passages of scripture in evidence, he then turns thus to his Heathen reader. “ But

P “ R. Menachem—and his authors—look upon the Shekinah “ [or Logos] as *the living God*, fol. 2, col. 1, the *God of Jacob*, “ R. Men. fol. 38, col. 3, and—that very *angel*, whom *Jacob* looks “ upon as his Redeemer, his Shepherd, and whom the *prophets* call “ the *Angel* of the Presence and the *Angel* of the Covenant, *ibid.* “ fol. 73, col. 1, and fol. 83, col. 4” (Allix’s Judgment, p. 166). They say also, that he “ *smote the Egyptians*, fol. 56, col. 4” (*ibid.* *ibid.*). “ *All the signs and wonders which the Lord sent him [Mo-* “ *ses] to do,—according to the Targums,—“ ‘The Word of the* “ *Lord sent him to do, in Egypt, to Pharaoh and his servants, and* “ *all his land’*” (p. 216).

Q 4

“ that

“ that you may not think,” he says, “ I am putting my own construction upon these extracts; I will present to you, as an interpreter of the meaning of scripture, a Hebrew who is accurate in the domestick opinions of his country, and learnt the sentiments from his masters; for such in your estimation is Philo^q.”

Eusebius then adduces three passages out of Philo. These I have previously laid before my reader, in all their force and power. But it is requisite to give a little abstract of them here, in order to continue these necessary links in the chain of Eusebius’s evidence.

The first then says, that when God is mentioned in scripture to have made man in the image, not of himself, but of God; and so “ another God” seems to be introduced; there is a reference “ to the second God, who is his Logos^r.” The next affirms God, to “ have set his right Logos and First-begotten Son over all things, who will accept the charge, as in some measure a governor under a great king.” And the third declares “ the

^q P. 190. Ινα δε μη σοφισθαι με ταυτα νομισης, ερμηνευα σοι της εν τη γραφη διανοιας, Εβραιον ανδρα παραστησω, τα οικεια πατροθεν ακριβηντα, και παρα διδασκαλων το δογμα μεμαθηκοτα· ει δη σοι τοιυτ^ο ο Φιλων.

^r P. 190. Ως περι ετερου θεου φησι, and προς τον δευτερον θεον, ος εστιν εκεινου λογ^{ος}.

^s P. 190. Προσησαμεν^{ος} τον ορθον λογον και πρωτογονον υιον, ος την επιμελειαν, —οια τις μεγαλη βασιλεως υπαρχ^{ει}, διαδεξεται.

“ Eternal

“ Eternal Logos of the Everlasting God, to be the
 “ very strong and very firm support of the uni-
 “ verse.” So fully does Philo here corroborate,
 what Eusebius has said, and what Demetrius has
 affirmed, concerning the Deity of the Son of God !
 If to be a joint Creator with the Father; if to be
 called upon by the Father, in order to join in the
 act of creation with him; if to be the very Creator,
 who stamped his own image upon man; if to pre-
 side over the universe which he thus formed, and to
 govern it under the Father; if to be as eternal in
 duration as the Father, and to be the very strong
 and very firm supporter of that universe, which he
 now governs, and which he originally created: if all
 this united is to be God, as every one of the cha-
 racters, alone and by itself, undoubtedly is; then the
 Logos is most undoubtedly, what Eusebius has said
 the Jews believed him to be, and what Philo here
 calls him expressly, a “ God, Second” indeed to
 the Father, but a God, at once different from the
 Father and the same with him, co-equal with him
 in continuity of existence, and therefore co-equal
 too in substantiality of nature^u.

7.—But

^t P. 190. Λογος δ' ο αἰδιος θεος τε αιωνιος, το οχυρωτατον και βεβαι-
 οτατον ερεισμα των ολων εστιν.

^u To this let me subjoin a parallel passage in Justin Martyr, be-
 cause it wants a little vindication, from the wrongs equally of the
 printer and the translator; and because it is very striking in itself:
 η οταν λεγη, “ when the scripture says,” εβρεξε Κυριος πυρ παρα Κυ-
 ριου

7.—But Eusebius proceeds still farther. He not only ascribes to the Jews this explicit profession of belief, in the equal Divinity of a Second Being with the First; but also maintains, that they believed in the Divinity of a Third with Both. He thus completes the circle, of his Christian theology among the Jews; gives to *them* equally as to *us*, a Godhead with a triple personality; and sets at the head of both systems of religion, a Trinity of persons in an Unity of essence.

Παντι γὰρ ἐν κόσμῳ λαμπρὴ Τριάς, ἢς Μονὰς ἀρχεῖ.

A Triad shines, a Monad reigns in each^x.

ἐκ τοῦ θρανε, “the Lord rained fire from the Lord out of heaven;”
 δυο ἄντας ἀριθμῶ μνησθεὶς ὁ λόγος ὁ προφητικὸς, “the Word of Inspira-
 “tion indicates two numerical Existences;” τὸν μὲν, ἐπὶ γῆς ὄντα,
 “the one existing on earth,” ὅς [it should be, ὅν] φησὶ καταβέβηκεν αἰ
 ἰδεῖν τὴν κραυγὴν Σοδομῶν, “whom it reports to have come down in
 “order to examine the cry of Sodom;” τὸν δὲ, ἐν τοῖς θρανοῖς ὑπαρ-
 χόντα, “the other abiding in the heavens,” ὅς καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ γῆς Κυρίῳ
 Κυρίῳ εἰναι, ὡς Πατὴρ καὶ Θεός, “who is also the Lord of the Lord
 “on earth, as being Father and God,” αἰτίας τε αὐτῷ τὸ εἶναι, “and
 “the Cause of existence to him,” καὶ δυνατῷ, καὶ Κυρίῳ, καὶ Θεῷ
 [not, as in the Latin translation, “auctor eidem est, ut sit, atque equi-
 “dem præpotens, et Dominus, et Deus ut sit,” but thus, “auctor
 “eidem ut sit, ipsi quidem præpotenti, et Domino, et Deo”],
 “though he [the second Lord] is powerful, and LORD, and GOD
 “himself.” Dial. cum Tryphone, p. 358.

^x This Greek line “is inserted among the Oracula Zoroastri in
 “Platonicis Collecta, p. 8. This treatise of Zoroaster’s is published
 “by Franc. Patricius, at the end of his Nova de Universis Philoso-
 “phia, fol. edit. Venet. an. 1593” (Lesley’s Theological Works,
 i. 245). It is an “oracle cited out of Damascius by Patricius”
 (Cudworth’s Intellectual System, p. 294. edit. 1678).

“Would

“ Would not this then be a speech the most
 “ worthy of God, of the rational and all-wise pow-
 “ er of God, to refer the principle of the framing
 “ of the universe, rather to the very Wisdom and
 “ the very Logos of God, than to the elements that
 “ have no souls and no reason? For such indeed
 “ among the Hebrews, were the opinions concern-
 “ ing the principle of all things. And let us see
 “ also what they teach, concerning the framing of
 “ the rational beings, that are after the First Prin-
 “ ciple.
 “ After the uncaused and ungenerated
 “ person of God the universal king, they tell us of
 “ a Principle that was generated from no other
 “ than the Father, being the First-begotten, the
 “ Coadjutor of the Father’s council, and imaged
 “ after him; which Principle presides over all the
 “ things, that were afterwards created; for which
 “ reason also, they have been accustomed to call it
 “ the Image of God, and the Power of God, and
 “ the Wisdom of God, and the Logos of God, yea
 “ and even the General of the host of the Lord^y,
 “ and the Angel of the Grand Council:—the Pow-
 “ er of the God of all, which is great without
 “ bounds and beyond expression, taking in all

^y So Clemens Alexandrinus observes, that “ all the army of an-
 “ gels and of Gods has been subjected to the Son of God,” τὰ τῶν
 πᾶσα υποτάσσεται στρατῷ αγγέλων τε καὶ θεῶν (Stromata, vii.
 p. 831).

“ things

“ things at once; and the Second after the Father,
“ being the equally fabricating and enlightening
“ power of the Divine Logos. Wherefore also the
“ Hebrews love to name him, both the true Light
“ and the Sun of righteousness: there being like-
“ wise, after the Second person, a Third,—the Holy
“ Ghost, which very Being they rank in the first and
“ royal dignity and honour of a Principle of the uni-
“ verse; he himself being constituted by the Maker of
“ all, a Principle of the things created afterwards, I
“ mean of the things that were inferior and want
“ aid from him. But this Being, holding the
“ third rank, assists those who are inferior to him
“ with his better powers; yet indeed receives not
“ the powers from any other, than from the God
“ Logos, who is truly higher and better, and whom
“ we have said to be the Second to the Most High
“ and the ungenerated person of God the universal
“ king: from whom even he himself, the God Lo-
“ gos, receiving aid and drawing Divinity, as from
“ a perpetual and over-flowing fountain of Divini-
“ ty, communicates the splendours of his domes-
“ tick light to all, as well as to the Holy Ghost
“ himself, who is nearer to him than all, and very
“ nigh, and to the intelligent and divine powers af-
“ ter him, abundantly and without envy: and that
“ the ungenerated Principle of the universe, be-
“ ing the fountain of all Good, of Divinity, and
“ Life and Light, and the cause of every virtue;
“ and

“ and being the Primary of the Primaries, and the
 “ Principle of Principles, and rather beyond the
 “ Principle and the First, and every imagination
 “ spoken or apprehended; communicated to the
 “ First-begotten alone, all whatever he held in-
 “ volved in his unspeakable powers, as to Him
 “ who alone was capable of taking in and receiving
 “ that, which is not to be attained or taken in by
 “ others, the abundance of the Father’s goods; and
 “ affords them in part to those who are partially
 “ worthy, by the ministry and mediation of the
 “ Second One, as every person can attain: of which
 “ the perfect and the highly sacred things, were
 “ imparted by the Father himself to the Third
 “ One, the Ruler and Governor of them below,
 “ who through the Son receives the things of the
 “ Father. And from hence all the Divines of the
 “ Hebrews, after the God over all, and after his
 “ First-begotten Wisdom, deify the Third and
 “ Holy Power, calling him Holy Ghost; by whom
 “ also those were enlightened, who were inspired
 “ by God².”

In

² P. 191—192. Ἀρ ἐν ἡχ τῇ λογῶν εἴη ἂν ὁ θεοπρεπὲς αὐτός, δύνα-
 μει θεῶ λογικῇ καὶ πανσοφῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτῇ Σοφίᾳ καὶ αὐτῷ θεῷ Λογῷ,
 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνατίθεις τῆς τῷ παντὶ συστάσεως, ἢ τοῖς ἀψυχοῖς καὶ ἀλο-
 γοῖς σοιχείοις; ἀλλὰ γὰρ τρίαυτὰ παρ’ Ἑβραίοις, καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν
 ὁλῶν ἀρχῆς. σκεψώμεθα δὲ καὶ ἃ περὶ τῆς τῶν λογικῶν συστάσεως, τῶν με-
 τα τὴν Πρωτὴν Ἀρχὴν, ἐκδιδασκῶσι.
 Μετα τὴν ἀναρχὸν καὶ ἀγεννητὸν τῷ θεῷ παμβασιλευς ἦσιν,
 τῇ

In this illustrious description, of the nature and quality of the Jewish Godhead; in which there is some

την ἢκ αλλοθεν ἢ ἐκ τῆ Πατρῆς γεγεννημένην Ἀρχὴν, Πρωτοτοκὸν τε ἦσαν, καὶ συνεργὸν τῆς τῆ Πατρῆς βουλῆς, πρὸς αὐτὸν τε ἀπεικονισμένην, διδασκῆσι· ταύτην δὲ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γεννητῶν ἀπαντῶν πρωτεύει· παρ' οὗ καὶ Εἰκόνα Θεοῦ αὐτὴν, καὶ Θεὸν Δυναμὴν, καὶ Θεὸν Σοφίαν, καὶ Θεὸν Λόγον, καὶ μὴν καὶ Ἀρχιστράτηγον δυνάμειος Κυρίῃ, μεγάλης τῇ Βουλῇ Ἀγγέλον, ἀποκαλεῖν εἰώθασι. —Τὰ πάντα μὲν ἀθροῦς ἀπολαβῆσης τῆς ἀνεκφράστῃ καὶ ἀπειρομεγεθὲς δυνάμειος τῆς Θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων, δευτέρωστος δὲ μετὰ τὸν Πατέρα τῆς δημιουργικῆς οὐκ καὶ φωτιστικῆς δυνάμειος τῆς Θεοῦ Λόγου· διὸ καὶ Φῶς Ἀληθινὸν καὶ Δικαιοσύνης Ἡλίον, Ἑβραίοις φίλον αὐτὸν ὀνομαζέειν. Τρίτης δὲ ἤδη μετὰ τὴν δευτέραν ἦσαν—καθισταμένης, τῆς Ἁγίᾳ Πνεύματι, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ βασιλικῇ τῆς τῶν ὅλων Ἀρχῆς ἀξία καὶ τιμὴ καταλεγομένη· εἰς Ἀρχὴν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γεννητῶν, λεγῶ δὲ τῶν υποδεσνηκῶν, καὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτῆς χορηγίας ἐπιδεσμενῶν, καὶ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῆς τῶν ὅλων ποιότητος κατατεταγμένης. ἀλλὰ τὸτο μὲν, τρίτην ἐπέχον τὴν τάξιν, τοῖς υποδεσνηκοῖς τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ κρείττωνων δυνάμεων ἐπιχορηγεῖ, ἢ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνει παρ' ἑτέρας τῆς ἡ παρὰ Θεοῦ Λόγου, τῆς δὲ καὶ ἀνωτέρω καὶ κρείττοισι, ὅν δὴ δευτερεύειν ἐφάμεν τῆς ἀνωτάτω καὶ ἀγεννητῆς φύσεως Θεοῦ τῆς παμβασιλευς. παρ' ἣς δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιχορηγούμενος ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐξ αἰνῆτος πηγῆς θεότητος ἀναβλαστάνουστος ἀρτομένος, τοῖς πᾶσιν οὐκ καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, μᾶλλον ἀπαντῶν αὐτῷ προσεχέει καὶ ἐγγυτάτῳ ὄντι, ταῖς τε μετὰ τὸτο νοεραῖς καὶ θείαις δυνάμεισιν ἀθροῦς καὶ ἀνεπιφθόρως τῶν τῆς οὐκείας φῶτος μαρμαρυγῶν μεταδίδωσι. τὴν δὲ τῶν ὅλων ἀγεννητὸν [it should be, ἀγεννητὸν, as before] Ἀρχὴν, ἀγαθὴν ἀπαντῶν ἦσαν πηγὴν, θεότητος τε καὶ ζωῆς οὐκ καὶ φωτός, καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς αἰτίον, καὶ Πρωτὴν γε ἦσαν τῶν Πρωτῶν καὶ Ἀρχῶν Ἀρχὴν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ Ἀρχῆς καὶ Πρωτῆς, καὶ πάσης ῥῆτης τε καὶ καταληπτῆς ἐπινοίας ἐπέκεινα, τὰ μὲν πάντα, ὅσα περ ἐν ἀρετῇ τοῖς δυνάμεισιν περιελήφει, τῷ πρώτῳ γεννηματι κοινῶναι μόνῳ, ὡς ἂν μόνως οἶον τε χωρεῖν καὶ ἀποδέχεσθαι, τὴν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἢ ἐφικτὴν ἢ δὲ χωρητὴν, τῆς Πατρῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονίαν. τὰ δ' ἐν μέρει τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἀξίοις, διὰ τῆς τῆς Δευτέρας διακονίας τε καὶ μεσιτείας, κατὰ τὸ ἐκάστῳ ἐφικτὸν ἐμπαρεχέειν. ὦν τὰ τέλει, καὶ ἀκρῶς ἁγία, τῷ Τρίτῳ μὲν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς, ἀρχόντι τε καὶ ἡγούμενῳ τῶν μετὰ πέτα, διὰ τῆς ὅτι τα περὶ τῆς Πατρῆς ἐπικομιζόμενῳ, δεδορησθαι. εἴθεν οἱ πάντες Ἑβραίων θεολογοί, μετὰ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεόν, καὶ μετὰ τὴν Πρωτοτοκὸν αὐτῆς Σοφίαν,

some confusion as to the disposition of the parts, from the tumultuous crowding of ideas upon the mind of the relator; but over which is a strong lustre of useful intelligence; the Son of God comes forward to our view, arrayed with peculiar pomp of Deity. He is "the very Wisdom and the very " Logos of God," that was "the Principle of all " things," and "the Principle of the framing of " the universe." He was "generated from no " other than the Father." He is "the First-be- " gotten" of the Father, "the Coadjutor of the " Father's council, and imaged after him." He "presides over all things that were created after- " wards." And the Jews have therefore "been " accustomed to call him, the Image of God, and " the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God, " and the Logos of God; yea and even the Gene- " ral of the host of the Lord, and the Angel of the " grand council." With such a "fulness of the " Godhead" internally, with such a plenitude of power and such a splendour of glory externally, was the Son of God believed by the Jews to appear, in the presence of the angels and on the throne of their Divinity!

But all this is again repeated in other words, and so is enforced the more upon the mind. The Son

φιαν, την Τριτην και αγιαν δυναμιν, Αγιον Πνευμα προσειποντες, αποθει-
ζουσιν υφ υ και εφωτιζοντο θεοφορημενοι. See note to the extract in
sect. 2d, before.

is

is "the Second after the Father, being the equally
 " fabricating and enlightening power of the Divine
 " Logos." He was therefore called by the Jews,
 " the true Light, and the Sun of Righteousness."
 He is in fact "the God Logos." He draws
 " Divinity" from the Father, "as from a perpe-
 " tual and over-flowing fountain of Divinity." He
 " is the First-begotten," to whom "alone the Fa-
 ther "communicated,—all whatever he held in-
 " volved in his unspeakable powers." And he
 " alone was capable of taking in and receiving
 " that, which is not to be attained or taken in by
 " others; the abundance of the Father's goods."
 Such a bright blaze of Divinity from the very
 Sun of Divinity in the Father, is lodged in the
 bosom of the Logos; the only orb competent to re-
 ceive it, within all the range and compass of possi-
 bilities^a.

Yet an addition is even made to this. A Third
 Person in the Godhead, is now noticed; and his Di-
 vinity gives an extraordinary confirmation, to the
 Divinity of the Son. There is, "after the Second
 " person, a Third; THE HOLY GHOST." This

^a "The Jews commonly call him,—the *Second Glory* and the
 " Crown of the Creation. Rittangelius brings their authorities for
 " this, in *Seph. Jetzira*, p. 4 and 5" (*Allix's Judgment*, p. 173).
 " The Jews believe till this day, that, although the *λογος* is *Jehovah*,
 " nevertheless the Father is *the Superior Light*; and they call it *the*
 " *Great Luminary*. R. Men. fol. 135, col. 2" (p. 334).

" very

“ very Being” the Hebrews “ rank, in the first and
 “ royal dignity and honour of a Principle of the
 “ universe; he himself being constituted by the
 “ Maker of all, a Principle of the things created
 “ afterwards.” Thus holding “ the third rank” in
 the Deity, he “ assists those who are inferior to
 “ him with his better powers,” and so becomes
 “ the Ruler and Governor of them below” him.

Nor are we, independently of Eusebius’s very satisfactory evidence, without full testimony from other quarters, of the Jewish belief in the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. This third sharer in the essence of the Godhead, must have been as familiarly known as the Godhead itself, to the Jews of Moses’s days; or he would have conveyed no ideas to them, when he wrote for their instruction these words: “ In the beginning GOD created the heaven
 “ and the earth; and THE SPIRIT OF GOD moved
 “ upon the face of the waters.” He is accordingly noticed by a Jew, a hundred and fifty years prior to our Saviour; as “ *the Divine Spirit*, by which
 “ Moses was also proclaimed a prophet^b.” In the book of Judith also, which is supposed to have been written in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, and was certainly written in Chaldaick for the exhortation of the Jews; the hymn of thanks to God runs thus: “ Lord, thou art great and glorious,

^b Eusebius, p. 221. Το Θεῖον Πνεῦμα, καθ’ ο καὶ προφητῆς ἀνακεκ-
 ρυγται.

R

“ wonderful

“ wonderful in strength, and invincible; let all
 “ creatures serve thee; for thou spakest, and they
 “ were made, thou didst send forth thy *Spirit*, and
 “ it created them^c.” He is noticed too by Philo,
 in the Wisdom of Solomon, under his *evangelical*
 appellation; Philo saying to God in a just strain of
 devotion, “ thy counsel who hath known, except
 “ thou give wisdom, and send *thy Holy Spirit* from
 “ above^d.” And he is equally noticed under his
evangelical appellation, by the Jewish author of the
 Second Book of Esdras; who prays God to “ send
 “ *the Holy Ghost*” into him, that he may write the
 history of the world from the beginning^e. These
 Jews speak of him in all the easy manner, in which
 we Christians speak of him at present. In the
 same manner does John the Baptist also mention
 him, in the Gospel narration of his preachings.
 He announces to his hearers the speedy appearance
 of the Grand Reformer, who “ shall baptize them
 “ with *the Holy Ghost* and with fire^f.” The Holy
 Ghost therefore was familiarly and equally known,
 to the Baptist and to his hearers. But, even when
 the birth of the Baptist was promised to his despair-
 ing father, the promising angel uses the same lan-
 guage exactly; and tells the Jewish priest, that this
 miraculous son of old age and barrenness “ shall be
 “ filled with *the Holy Ghost*, even from his mother’s

^c Judith, ch. xvi. 13—14, Grotius, and Allix, p. 70.

^d Wisdom, ix. 17.

^e II. Esdras, xiv. 22.

^f Mat. iii. 2.

“ womb.”

“womb^g.” The promise was conveyed in language, no doubt, well known in its sound to the ears of the priest, and carrying clear and appropriate ideas to his mind. Even when the same angel appears to that Jewish heroine in humility and faith, the Virgin Mary; and assures her she was selected by God, to be the mother of the Messiah; in the same language and with the same ideas, he explains the miraculous mode by which she was to become so. “*The Holy Ghost*,” he says, “shall come upon thee; and the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee^h.” These words must have conveyed the same meaning to her, which they convey to us. The Holy Ghost must have been a personal Principle of Power, in the universe; as much believed and revered by her, as he is by us. And by the instant transition of the angel’s ideas and words, from “the Holy Ghost” to “the Power of the Highest;” and by his immediate reference of the same act, to both; we see the Holy Ghost at once, in her opinions and in his, and in those of the whole nation, to be “the” very “Power of the Highest” himself. Such casual strokes as these, when so large and so broad, prove authentic vouchers for the general faith; and show the Jews at the time, to have adored God the Holy Ghost, equally with God the Son, and equally as “the Power of the Highestⁱ.”

But

^g Luke i. 15.

^h Luke i. 35.

ⁱ The Jews “knew the third person” in the Trinity, “by the

But then this very Being, in the estimation of the Jews, is inferior to the Son. The powers, which he is declared by Eusebius and the Jews above to possess, "he receives," as Eusebius adds, "not from any other than from the God Logos, who is truly higher and better, and whom we have said to be the Second, to the Most High and the ungenerated person of God the universal king." It is the Logos too, that "communicates the splendours of his domestick light to—the Holy Ghost himself, who is nearer to him than all, and very nigh." But it is the Father, who originally communicates them through the Son. "The Father's goods" the Father "affords,—in part to those who are partially worthy, by the ministry and mediation of the Second One, as every person can attain; of which the perfect and the highly sacred things, were imparted by the Father himself to the Third One, who through the Son receives the things of the Father." So thoroughly and completely God is the Logos, that through him the Sun of the Father's Divinity penetrates, to form another Sun of Divinity in the Godhead, and to consummate the shining Triad in the reigning Monad of the Deity!

"name of Binah or Intelligence, because they thought it was He that gave men the knowledge, of what God was pleased to reveal to them. In particular, they called him the Sanctifier, and the Father of faith; nor is any thing more common among them, than to give him the name of the Spirit of Holiness, or the Holy Spirit" (Allix's Judgment, p. 173).

"From

“ From hence,” as Eusebius finally tells us, “ the Hebrews, *after* the God over all, and *after* his First-begotten Wisdom, DEIFY the Third and Holy Power, calling him Holy Ghost; by whom also those were enlightened, who were inspired by God.” The original Sun of Divinity, and his two successively formed *Parbelii*, these the necessary and co-eternal effusions of that, and of the same splendour and greatness with it; all unite to constitute that awful system of Intellectual Light, which is at once the cause, the centre, and the soul of the universe; from which all existences derive their commencement and receive their continuance, and to which they are like so many stars attending upon it: some of a superior lustre, as the angels; some of a dimmer brightness, as men; and some of a grosser beam, as the animate and inanimate objects around us; but all, like stars, sinking into a temporary annihilation, when this Triple Sun puts forth its splendours, and only to be seen when it wraps itself in the shades of night. And, with such lively and glowing colours, has the Divinity of the Son been peculiarly blazoned forth to the world; as the foundation of all rational hope in him, who by the energy of his preachings, the virtue of his life, and the efficacy of his death, was to ransom us from the captivity of sin and misery: that Jews and that Christians, in all ages before and since his coming for this purpose, have firmly believed him to be

God, while they expected him to be man, while they beheld him a man, and even while they acknowledged him to have been a man; contemplating the Deity, in the very clouds and darkness around him; and viewing that darkness and those clouds, lined with a light of glory within, more than human, more than angelick, and all Divine^k.

8.—To

^k “As the first Christians make use of the word *number* when they speak of the Divine Wisdom, acknowledging that it differs in number, but not in substance, from the Eternal Father (So Justin doth against Tryphon); and do acknowledge some *degrees* between the three persons (so doth Tertullian in some places); and afterwards have made use of the word *person* [rather thus: and—have made use of the word *person*, and afterwards do acknowledge some *degrees* between the three persons]: so the ancient Jews have among them the same terms, which shews they had the same ideas. They speak of the *Sephiroth*, that is of the *numbers*, in the Godhead; they speak of the several *Madregoth*, which is *degrees*; they speak of *Profopin* [from the Greek *πρῶτον*, see p. 160], which is *persons*” (Allix’s Judgment, p. 163). Of “the third *Sephirah*, which they call *Binah*, and which we take justly to be the Holy Ghost,—they teach that it proceeds from the first by the second” (p. 166—167). “They attribute equally the name of *Jehovah*, to the second and the third *Sephirah*” (p. 168). “The author of *Zohar* cites these words of R. Jose (a famous Jew of the second century), where examining the text, Deut. iv. 7, “Who have their *Gods* so near to them,” “What” saith he, “may be the meaning of this? It seems that Moses should have said, Who have *God* so near them. But—there is a *Superior God*, and there is *the God who was the fear of Isaac*, and there is an *Inferior God*: and therefore Moses saith, The *Gods* so near. For there are many virtues that come from *the Only One*, and *all they are One*” (p. 169). And as Methodius calls the Son expressly, “the all-powerful and strong *band* of the Father”

8.—To these evidences, so powerful and so irresistible, I shall add merely the evidence of an early Jew, as it is produced by Eusebius; in order the more amply to prove, that Eusebius's descriptions of the Jewish theology are perfectly Jewish in themselves. This new witness is Aristobulus, who lived at Alexandria, like Philo; but lived long before him, being tutor to Ptolemy Philometor, and about a hundred and fifty years prior to the Christian æra. He was also, what seems very extraordinary to our imaginations in a Jew, one of the Peripatetick philosophers of antiquity. And some fragments of a work of his, that has since perished, are luckily preserved by Eusebius¹.

In one of these, Aristobulus speaks of a "Second Cause" in the formation of the world, like Philo; but, like him too, speaks of it easily and familiarly, as a Principle known and acknowledged among his countrymen; and, like both Philo and Eusebius, gives it the appellation of "Wisdom." These are, says Eusebius, "Aristobulus's words concerning THE SECOND CAUSE. "And let *this* be transferred also to THE WISDOM. For all light is from it. Wherefore some also [of the Jews]

"ther" (Bull, p. 148); so do the Jews in their Targums, &c. call him and the Holy Ghost *the two hands* of the Father, by which he founded the world, &c. (Allix's Judgment, p. 150 and 162). So does likewise Irenæus call them (iv. 37. p. 330).

¹ Eusebius, 190, 221, and 241, and II. Maccabees, i. 10.

“ have said, being of the sect of the Peripateticks ;
 “ that this has the office of a lamp, for they who
 “ follow it continually, shall through all their life
 “ remain without trouble. But one of *our* proge-
 “ nitors, Solomon, more plainly and more beauti-
 “ fully said; that it existed before the heavens and
 “ the earth^m.” In this short passage, we see the
 sentiments of Aristobulus and his countrymen,
 concerning the Logos; a full century and a half be-
 fore Philo. They called the Logos “ the Wisdom”
 of God. They considered him as equally acting with
 God the Father, in the formation of nature; as
 being equally a “ Cause” of that formation, with
 him; and as being a “ Second Cause,” while he
 was the primary. They also revered him, as we
 ourselves revere him at present, for the great “ Fa-
 “ ther of Lights” to men, and for “ the true
 “ Light, which lighteth every man that cometh in-
 “ to the worldⁿ.” They even looked up to him,
 like us Christians, as the mighty centre of souls to
 man; that happy point, to which the good are con-
 tinually gravitating; on which, with a vivid feeling
 of consolation from it, they are leaning secure; and

^m P. 190—191. Αριστοβουλῶς περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς [τῆς Δευτέρης αἰτίας].

Μεταφοροῦτο δ' αὖ το αὐτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Σοφίας, το γὰρ πᾶν φῶς ἐστὶν ἐξ
 αὐτῆς, διὸ καὶ τινες ἐβηκασί τῶν ἐκ τῆς αἰρέσεως οὐτὲς ἐκ τῆς περιπατῆς,
 λαμπτήρος αὐτὴν εἶναι ταξίν· ἀκολουθῶντες γὰρ αὐτὴν συνεχῶς, ἀταραχοὶ
 καταστῆσονται δι' ὅλην τὴν βίαν. σαφέστερον δὲ καὶ καλλίον τῶν ἡμετέρων προ-
 γονῶν τις εἶπε, Σολομῶν, Πρὸ ὕρανης καὶ γῆς αὐτὴν ὑπαρχειν.

ⁿ Ep. of James, i. 17, and John, i. 9.

from

from which, under all the labours of life, and amidst all the distractions of the world, they are perpetually “ finding rest unto their souls.” And they awfully acknowledged him, with all this friendliness for man, to be infinitely dignified above him; to have existed, before the heavens were expanded over his head, and before the earth was spread under his feet; and indeed to have acted, in spreading and expanding them for him.

But Aristobulus proceeds in another fragment, to a more lofty account of the Logos; though it must still turn upon the same incidents, in his personal and official nature. The finest parts of the creation, are formed of simple elements of matter. The Sun is compounded of the same ingredients, as a rose. But the Sun is much more brilliant, though both are beautiful. And Aristobulus thus unveils his Sun to our eyes.

Endeavouring to show, how much “ the Greeks
“ owed to the philosophy among the Hebrews;” he tells us: “ Pythagoras, and Socrates, and Plato,
“ seem to me to have *surveyed all [the law of Moses]*
“ *with a curious eye*, and to have followed him in
“ saying, that the materials of the universe heard
“ the voice of God; all accurately believing it to be
“ made by God, and to be incessantly bound toge-
“ ther by him. And Orpheus also, in his poems

“ on the things said to him according to the Sacred
 “ Word, declares thus concerning all nature hav-
 “ ing been made, and being now preserved, by the
 “ Divine Power; and concerning God being over
 “ all. And he says thus ^{P.}” Aristobulus here
 makes these very remarkable lines of Orpheus,
 which (if not his) appear at least, from being so
 early attributed to him, to be of a very remote an-
 tiquity; *all his own*, and evidences equally of the
Jewish as of the Christian faith: by citing them for
 proofs, of what the Greeks in general had borrowed
 from “ the philosophy among the Hebrews,” and
 of what had been said to Orpheus in particular,
 “ according to the Sacred Word.” And, as I shall
 not affect to give these, any more than those from
 the Jewish play before, *additional* elegance and spi-
 rit; I shall confine myself, as I did before, to blank
 verse in my translation, that the copy may not lose
 any of the marking touches of the original, and so
 the English bard prove an unfaithful representative
 of the Græcian ^q.

To

^P Eusebius, p. 388. Οπως και προ ημων Αριστοβουλος ο περιπατητικος,
 εκ της παρ' Εβραιους φιλοσοφιας ωμολογει της Ελληνας ωρμασθαι . .
 . . . δοκησι δε μοι, περιεργασμενοι παντα, κατηκολυθηκεναι
 Πυθαγορας τε και Σοκρατης και Πλατων, λεγοντες ακθειν φωνης τη θεω
 την κατασκευην των ολων, συνθεωρουντες ακριβως υπο θεω γεγονυιαν και
 συνεχομενην αδιαλειπτως. ετι δε και Ορφευς, εν ποιημασι των κατα τον ιε-
 ρον λογον αυτω λεγομενων, ητως εκτιθεται περι τη διακρατεισθαι θεα δυ-
 ναμει τα παντα και γενητα υπαρχειν, και επι παντων ειναι τον θεον. λεγει
 ητως.

^q These reputed poems of Orpheus, who himself lived near thir-
 teen

To whom I should, I'll tell (but, ye Profane,
Shut close the doors, and fly the just man's laws)
That Rule Divine, which is to all proposed:
And thou attend, the Son of Mene bright,
Musæus; for some solemn truths I'll speak:
Nor let what is already in thy breast,
Rob thee of this delightful age to come.

On THE DIVINE LOGOS look, approach him near,
To him direct thy intellect and heart,
Walk firmly in his path, and gaze upon
The sole, th' immortal Maker of the world:
For all THE ANCIENT LOGOS shines in him.
He is the One consummate in himself,
And all things take their finish'd form from him.
With them he is encircled; nor can any
Of mortal spirits see him, for he is
By the mind only to be seen at all.
But he from good educes never ill
To mortal men; though love and hate attend him,
Famine, and war, and much-lamented woes.
Nor is there other one; and all you'll see
At once, if first you see him here on earth.

To you, my Son, I'll show him, when I view
The steps and strong hand of the mighty God.

teen hundred years before our Saviour, are ascribed by Clemens Alexandrinus, p. 397, and by Tatian, p. 173 (Paris, 1626, along with Justin Martyr), to Onomacritus of Athens, who lived in the time of the Pisistratidæ, about five hundred and thirty before our Saviour. But they are attributed by an authority much earlier than these or any other witnesses, even by Aristobulus here; to Orpheus himself. Upon any scale of chronology, however, they are very ancient. And this particular poem has been mis-interpreted by ancients and by moderns, from an error in the first concoction, concerning the scope and aim of the whole; and from a want of attention, to the particular turn and manner of the original.

But

But him I see not; for around him spreads
 A thick dark cloud, and from me hides the rest;
 While tenfold darkness hides him from mankind.
 Of tribe-form'd men no one shall see him reign,
 But he alone, who was a branch broke off
 From the high stem of the Chaldæan race;
 And who was skill'd in the sun's orb and path,
 How round the earth it forms its circle just,
 And on its spindle moves exactly true;
 How through the air, and through the deep of waves,
 It guides the winds, and flames a blaze of fire.

But fixed THE LOGOS is in ample heav'n,
 There mounted on his golden throne he sits,
 And rests his feet upon the earth below.
 To Ocean's bounds his right hand he has stretch'd;
 The hills are trembling to their base within,
 His wrath's dread weight unable to sustain.
 But still to heav'n his person he confines,
 And thence performs whate'er he wills on earth;
 Having within himself at once the End,
 The Midst, and the Beginning, of all things.

As the great LOGOS of the Antient Times,
 Who is of matter to be born, ordain'd;
 I've had the law all folded up from God:
 Or else I should not dare to speak of it.
 E'en now I shake through all my shuddering limbs,
 Though from the sky, I know, he reigns o'er all.
 But, O my Son, do thou these thoughts receive,
 A sacred silence keep concerning them,
 And in thy bosom lay them safely up.

In

P. 388—389.

Φθεγξομαι οἷς θεοὺς ἐστὶ (θυραὶ δ' ἐπιθεσθε βεβηλοὶ,
 Φευγοντες δικαίων θεσμῶς) θεοῖο τιθεῖντος

Πασα

In this curious extract from one of the poems of Orpheus, with equal concern and admiration we see the

Πασι νομῆ· συ δ' ἀκχε, φαεσφορῶ ἐγλόνε μηνῆς
Μεσαι·. ἐξερῶ γὰρ ἀληθεῖα· μὴδὲ σε τὰ πρὶν

5. Ἐν γηθεσσί φανείλα, φίλης αἰωνὸς ἀμερσῆ.

Εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον ἔλειψας, τῶν προσεδρεύε,
Ἰθυῶν κρᾶδης νοερὸν κύλος· εὐ δ' ἐπιβᾶινε
Ἀραπίη, μῦθον δ' ἐσορᾶ κοσμοῖο τυπῶν
Ἀθανάιον· παλαιὸς δὲ λόγος περὶ τῆδε φαίνεται.

10. Εἰς ἐς· αὐτῆλεθς, αὐτῆ δ' ὑπὸ πάντῃ τελεῖται·

Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐλὸς περιισσεῖται· ἔδε τις αὐλὸν

Εἰσορᾶ ψυχῶν θνητῶν, νῶ δ' εἰσορααίαι.

Αὐλὸς δ' ἐξ ἀγαθῶν θνητοῖς κακὸν ἔκ ἐπιτελλεῖ

Ἀνθρώποις· αὐτῶ δὲ χάρις καὶ μῖσος ὀπηρεῖ,

15. Καὶ πόλεμος, καὶ λοιμὸς, ἰδ' ἀλγεᾶ δακρυοεῖλα.

Οὐδὲ τις εὐθ' εἰρεὸς· συ δὲ κεν ρεῖα πάντ' ἐσορησῇς,

Αἰκεν ἰδὲ αὐλὸν πρὶν δὴ πόλε δειρ' ἐπὶ γαίαν.

Τεκνον ἐμὸν, δεῖξω σοὶ ὀπηνικὰ δερκομαι αὐτῆ

Ἰχθια, καὶ χεῖρα γιγάρην κρατερῶο θεοῖο.

20. Αὐλὸν δ' ἔχ' ὁρῶ· περὶ γὰρ νεφὸς ἐστηρικταί

Λοῖπον ἐμὰ, γαστὴρ δὲ δεκά πλῆχαι ἀνθρώποισιν.

Οὐ γὰρ κεν τις ἰδοὶ θνητῶν μεροπῶν κραινοῖλα,

Εἰ μὴ μῦθογενὴς τις ἀπορρωξέφυλῃ ἀνωθεν

Χαλδαίων· ἰδὲ γὰρ ἐν ἀγροῖο πορείης

25. Καὶ σφαιρῆς, κινήμ' ἀμφὶ χθονὰ ὡς περιελλεῖ,

Κυκλόερες γ' ἐν ἰσῶ κατὰ δὲ σφαιρῶν κνωδάκα·

Πνεύματα δ' ἠνιοχεῖ περὶ τ' ἠέρα καὶ περὶ χεῖμα

Ναμάιος, ἐκφαίνεται δὲ πυρὸς σέλας ἰφίγεντῆ.

Αὐλὸς δὲ μέγαν αὐτῆς ἐπ' ἔρανον ἐστηρικταί,

30. Χρυσῶν ἐνὶ θρόνῳ· γαίῃ δ' ὑπὸ πασσὶ βέβηκεν·

Χεῖρα δὲ δεξιερὴν ἐπὶ τερμασίῃν ὠκεανοῖο

Ἐκτετακέν, ὀρεῶν δὲ τρέμει βασις ἐνδοθὶ θυμῷ,

Οὐδὲ φερεῖν δύναται κρατερὸν μένος. ἐστὶ δὲ πάντως

Αὐλὸς ἐπ' ἔρανος, καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάντῃ τελευτᾷ,

35. Ἀρχὴν αὐλὸς ἔχων καὶ μέσσην ἡδὲ τελευτήν.

the old bard, searching out for his Redeemer amidst
the clouds of Heathenism, catching a strong and lively
glimpse

Ως Λογος αρχαιων, ως υλογενης, διελαξεν,
Εκ θεοθεν γνωμασι λαβων [λαβον] καλα διπλακα θεσμον·
Αλλως θ θεμιλον δε λεγειν· τρομεω δε γε γυια·
Εν νοω εξ υπαλις κραινει περι πανι' ενι ταξει.
40. Ω τεκνον, συ δε τοις νοοισι πελαζο, γλωσσην
Ευ μαλ' επικραλειων· σερνοισι δε ενθεο φημην.

Many of these lines are equally cited, by Clemens Alexandrinus, p. 63—64, and 723—724; and by Justin Martyr, p. 15—16, and 104—105. But it is apparent from a collation of all, that neither they nor Aristobulus quote the lines, regularly as they stood in the original. They leap over some, and yet continue the metre. The broken lines are made to unite and knit together, just as if they had never been broken. By this kind of critical chirurgery, Aristobulus has omitted some which they supply, and they have dropt others which he furnishes. And though the weight of my argument must rest, only on what Aristobulus has given himself; yet the elucidation of the sense, requires all the scattered parts to be re-united here.

Thus, to overlook little variations that affect not the sense, the second line is entirely omitted by Justin, in both his citations; and the third is connected thus,

Παντες ομως· συ δ' ακυε, κ. λ. λ.

What is surprizing, the very same suppression, and the very same connexion, are in Clemens, p. 63. At the eighth line, the last word is ανακλια in Justin and in Clemens; and the first of the next line, αθανατον, is omitted in Justin, but preserved by Clemens (p. 63 and 723). Clemens also omits all the rest of the ninth line, as Justin does the whole. The tenth to the thirteenth lines are read thus, by both Justin and Clemens; only Clemens in the eleventh reads the verb, as Aristobulus does:

Εις ες' αυλογενης, ενος εγνονα παντα τελακλαι,
Εν δ' αυλοις αυλος περιγυνηται· εδε τις αυλον
Εισοραα θνητων, αυλος δε γε παντας οραται.

He

glimpse of him at times, and then losing him again in the gathering thickness of his atmosphere. We see him

He is the One *produced by himself*,
And all creation is *the child of one*;
With that he is encircled; nor can any
Of mortal spirits see him, *while himself*
Sees all.

The thirteenth to the fifteenth lines run thus in Justin and in Clemens, with only *φύεται* in the latter (p. 725) for *δίδωσι* in the former;

Οὐλος δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῖο κακὸν θνητοῖσι δίδωσι,
Καὶ πολέμον κρυοενία, καὶ ἀλγέα δακρυοενία.
But he from good educes ill to men,
And bloody war, and much-lamented woes.

The fourteenth line is entirely dropt. And, in consequence of this, the whole passage is made to affirm in Justin and Clemens, what the former part of it denies in Aristobulus. In the sixteenth line, there is an omission of a contrary nature. Aristobulus leaves out what Justin retains, but what indeed is not necessary to the fullness, though it is to the clearness, of the sentiment:

Οὐδε τις εἶδος ἑτέρος χωρὶς μεγάλης βασιλῆος,
Nor is there other *than the Mighty King*.

The rest of the sixteenth, and all of the seventeenth to the nineteenth lines, is omitted by Justin. The twenty-first is also omitted by him, and these two are subjoined to the twentieth:

Πασιν γὰρ θνητοῖς θνηταὶ κορὰι εἰσὶν ἐν ὀσσοῖς,
Ἀσθενεὲς δ' ἰδεῖν Δία τὸν πάντων μεδεονία.
For mortal are the pupils in the eyes
Of mortal men, too weak to look on Jove
The King of all.

At the twenty-third line Clemens remarks, that Orpheus, "having pronounced God to be invisible, says he is to be known only by a
" certain

him very naturally exulting in the view; calling on his son Musæus, to share it with him; yet considering

“certain person, by birth a Chaldæan; meaning either Abraham “or a son of his” (p. 723). Clemens certainly did not understand the passage. It speaks not of the general invisibility, but of the particular appearance, of the Logos. Orpheus too means Abraham only. This is plain from the double description of him, as an exile from Chaldæa, and as a proficient in astronomy. Eusebius (p. 244—246) cites Berosus, who lived near three hundred years before our Saviour, witnessing that Abraham was “skilled in the knowledge “of the heavens,” *τα ἑρηνια εμπειρος*; Eupolemus of nearly the same age, that “he was even the discoverer of the Chaldæan astrology,” *την αστρολογιαν και χαλδαϊκην ευρειν*; Artapanus of nearly the same, that from Chaldæa “he went forth to Phœnicia, and taught astrology “to the Phœnicians,” *πρωτον μεν ελθειν εις φοινικην, και τας φοινικας αστρολογιαν διδασκει*; Eupolemus again, that “he came and dwelt in “Phœnicia, and taught the Phœnicians the changes of the sun and “moon, and all the other things” relating to astronomy, *τροπας ηλιου και σεληνης, και τα αλλα παντα, διδασκοντα τας φοινικας*; and Nicolaus Damascenus, who was nearly cotemporary with our Saviour, that “he taught arithmetick and astrology to the Egyptians,” *την τε αριθμητικην αυτοις χαριζειται, και τα περι αστρολογιαν παραδιδωσι*. Thus does the best of mere men, who stands so distinguished in Sacred History, as one whom God peculiarly honoured with the high title of his friend; stand equally recorded in Profane History, as the inventor of astronomy for the Chaldæans, the first astronomers upon earth; and as the teacher of it and of arithmetick to the Egyptians and Phœnicians, the earliest scholars and navigators of antiquity. And, as he is equally marked for a great astronomer here; so is he here introduced, to be the representative of the nation that descended from him.

Clemens recites the whole passage concerning Abraham, with Aristobulus; but Justin recites the twenty-ninth line afterwards, in this manner :

Ουτος γαρ χαλκειον ες θρανον εστηρικται,

turning

ing himself in the act, as presuming to undraw the curtain of the sanctuary, and to disclose the solemn

turning the *ample* heaven into a *brazen* one. Justin also gives us the thirty-second and thirty-third lines, in which Clemens agrees with Aristobulus; after this very different form from both:

Πάντοθεν ἐκτετακέν· περὶ γὰρ τρέμει ἕρπαι μακρὰ,
καὶ πόταμοι, πόλις τε βάθος χαροποῖο θαλάσσης.

. . . . His right hand he has stretch'd
On every side, and round him trembling lie
The hills, the rivers, and the hoary deep.

The thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh are omitted by Clemens, though he produces the lines immediately antecedent and subsequent. And what is very singular, and shows at once the cause of all these variations; Clemens, who in p. 723 exhibits the lines thirty to thirty-three in their regular and proper form, in p. 725 exhibits them again in this contracted and deranged manner:

Χεὶρα δὲ δεξιέρην ἐπὶ τερμαῖος ὠκεανοῖο
Πάντοθεν ἐκτετακέν, γαίῃ δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ βέβηκεν.

To Ocean's bounds his right hand he has stretch'd
On every side, and rests his feet on earth.

In the third line I have chosen to understand *μηνή* as an appellation, the real name of Musæus's mother. Where we have so much of sound theology; it seems quite ridiculous with the other interpreters, to describe Musæus as the son of the moon. And Musæus, who is here addressed as the son of Orpheus and the offspring of Mene, appears from both appellations to have been the real child, and not the literary one, the son and not the disciple, of Orpheus.—In line thirty-sixth, *υλογενής* I have rendered, “he that is of matter to be born;” considering it in unison with the whole context, as predictive of the future, and only in the present time by a prophetic anticipation.—Line thirty-seventh is very obscure. There is certainly one false reading in it. This I have corrected, by inserting in a hook what I think the true one. And I have given the whole the only sense, which I think it is capable of admitting.

secrets of God; and so standing forth the venerable prophet of the Messiah, to the early ages of Heathenism. His historical knowledge concerning the great Chaldæan, induces us the less to wonder at his theological acquaintance with the Logos. He had access to some sources of information, which have been long useless to the world, and have therefore been lost by it. And the current from them runs with an amazing clearness and force, through the pages of this poet.

“The Divine Logos,” he cries, “is to begin
“upon earth a delightful age to come;” and let no prejudices of opinion or of practice, rob man of the blessing. Look on him, ye future ages; approach to him, ye nations of the world. Bend your understandings, and mold your hearts, to his “Rule Divine; that is to all proposed,” but is particularly intended to be “the just man’s law.” Walk firmly in the path, which he prescribes to you; and gaze upon him, as “the only, the immortal Maker of
“the world.” He is “the Antient Logos;” “the
“Logos of Antient times;” and the August Personage, that has been so long proclaimed to the ages of mankind. He is all-sufficient in his nature; being “the One” Existence, who is ever “con-
“summate in himself.” He is the Person, from whom “all things took their finished form,” at the creation. He is also the vivifying spirit of the world, at present; invisible to the eye, and discern-
ible

ible only by the mind, of man. "From the sky,
 "I know, he reigns over all." Thus is he the con-
 troller and governor of man, a powerful controller
 and a gracious governor; never punishing his crea-
 tures, by turning their goodness into evil to them;
 but showing "love" to the good, and "hate" to the
 wicked; and sending his attendants, "Famine,
 "War, and Woes," to chastise a sinning world.
 "Nor is there other one" in all the universe, but
 He, the mighty monarch of it. And men will "at
 "once" find all this account of him, however grand,
 to be just; when they shall "see him, here on
 "earth" and "born of matter." I shall then be
 happy, to point him out to the eye of man, to show
 the wonders of power on the hand, and to mark
 the wonders of kindness in the steps, of this "Mighty
 "God." But alas! I shall not see him then. For
 he vanishes in a thick cloud from my sight, and the
 hour of his coming is concealed from me. But the
 rest of mankind, I see, do not enjoy even my views
 of him; and are in a "darkness" concerning him,
 "tenfold" greater than my own. Indeed "of tribe-
 "formed men, no one" shall see him "reigning"
 by residing upon earth; except only he, who is de-
 rived from the Refugee of Chaldæa, that father of
 astronomy to the earth. In the mean time, how-
 ever, the Logos is in heaven; there "sits upon his
 "golden throne;" and all the while "sets his feet
 "upon the earth." But lo! from thence, at this

instant, I see him doing an act of vengeance on the world. He has already extended his right hand, "to the bounds of the ocean." And "the hills" are trembling within to their base," as unable to sustain the weight of his wrath. Yet he still confines his person to heaven. He thence exerts his arm of energy, and executes all his purposes upon earth. And he comprehends within himself, at once the Beginning, the Middle, and the End, of every Being in the whole compass of nature.

Such is the astonishing delineation of the Grand Saviour of mankind, by the very early pencil of this respectable Heathen! It is very like the delineation of him, given us by Virgil before. Both are, no doubt, copies taken from the same primitive original. This copy by Orpheus, is awfully pleasing and agreeably striking. The veil of Heathen ignorance, indeed, has thrown a shade over some of the finer features of the face. But the figure comes livelily and boldly forward, upon the canvas. We hail with religious rapture the Evangelical Restorer of man, we gaze with devout fondness upon our Patron and our Benefactor, in this antient portrait by the hand of Heathenism. And in reverential silence we contemplate, the dignity of the Godhead on his brow, the luster of the Godhead in his eye, and the majesty of the Godhead through all the lineaments of his face. Such is the *Jove* of the Christians, as formed by this *Phidias* of little fame!

It

It serves wonderfully with Virgil's, Epicharmus's, and all the other accounts before; to show us what an insight many good men had, in the early ages of Heathenism, into the great counsels of Heaven for the recovery of man. It particularly shows us in conjunction with them, with what a strong effusion of light they saw the *nature* of Him, who was to be the agent in carrying those counsels into execution, and in effecting that recovery by them. And it finally unites with all, to show us the three grand divisions of past and of present mankind, Heathens, Jews, and Christians; all concurring to ascribe the plenitude of derivative Divinity, to their common Logos; and all in concert acknowledging him with pious awe, as their *Brother* by a material birth, as their *Instructor* and *Exhorter* by office, and yet, under the Father, as their CREATOR originally, their GOVERNOR and PRESERVER at present, and their LORD GOD OMNIPOTENT for ever.

CHAPTER

* Justin Martyr, p. 16, repeats these lines additional, from the same poet :

Ουρανόν, ορκίζω σε, θεὸν μεγάλῃ, σοφῇ, ἔργον·
ΑΥΔΗΝ ορκίζω σε Πατρός, τὴν φθεξάλο πρῶτον,
Ὡνικα κόσμον ἀπάντα εἰς ἐξηξάλο βελαις.

Thee I adjure, O heav'n, the work of Him
Who is the wise and mighty God; thee too,
VOICE of the Father, I adjure, whom first
He into being spoke, when all the world
By his own counsels he established,

CHAPTER THE FOURTH.

— I. —

IN this decisive and demonstrative manner, have we seen the original opinions of the Jews, all fixedly centered

We have seen the Logos called the *φωνη* or *Voice* of God, by Artapanus before (Part Vth. a note); as he is here called the *Αυδη* or *Voice* of the Father, by Orpheus. Orpheus thus notices the Logos for the first time, as the *Son* of God; by denominating God his *Father*. He also represents him, just as Philo and the first Christians do, even those who give him a positive *co-eternity* with the Father; as produced by the Father, *when* he deputed him to create the world. And Justin, p. 24, cites these wonderful words from Plato, which are in his Book De Legibus, lib. iv. p. 600. (Opera Omnia, Geneva, 1590); ο μὲν δὲ ΘΕΟΣ, ὡς περ καὶ ὁ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ, Ἀρχὴν καὶ Τελευτήν καὶ Μεσὰ τῶν πάντων ἔχων; “GOD, as also THE “ANCIENT LOGOS, has the Beginning and End and Middle of “all things in himself.” Justin strangely applies, as the modern translators do, “the Antient Logos” or “Word” to the law of Moses. Just so have the translators and interpreters done, with the same words in the poem of Orpheus. But the acquaintance of Orpheus or of Plato with the law of Moses, is an incident not attested by any evidence, in the slightest degree historical; and in the real state of that law, all locked up as it was from inspection of Heathens by its Hebrew language, is impossible to be true in itself. The mere reading indeed of the *poetical* extracts, shows the meaning of it beyond a doubt. Nor can even the *prosaical*, by any laws of construction, admit of a different meaning. And Orpheus’s application of the very same words to his God Logos, and Philo’s application of similar words to him, λογος ο προσεὐλαλος, or the very Antient Logos,

centered in the belief of a Trinity in the Godhead. But how long they retained these opinions, is not so clear. The latest authority which Eusebius has adduced, is that of Philo the cotemporary of the Apostles. So late are we sure that the Jews still persisted, in the sentiments of their Fathers and the Patriarchs. But a revolution of such a magnitude as this, a revolution that changed the whole position of the globe, as it were, and totally inverted the poles of it; would require a long continuance of time afterwards, to effect it. It openly began, I fear, immediately after Philo. But it made only a slow and un-alarming progress, for a long time afterwards. This the Book of Baruch, the Second Book of Esdras, and the Testaments of the twelve Patriarchs, very plainly concur to tell us. The mode, in which these three works assert the Divinity of the Son of God, like that of the Book of Wisdom and all the other works of Philo; incidental in itself, professing no opposition to audacious hereticks among their countrymen, and expecting no encounter from formidable hereticks among them;

Logos (iii. 6); unite to point out to us at once, what the obvious import of them in Plato would induce us, and what the necessary principles of construction must compel us, to consider as their genuine meaning. Thus interpreted, Plato concurs with Orpheus, Virgil, Epicharmus, and all the Jews, in giving a positive Divinity to the Logos; and so closes an astonishing chain of evidence, for this primitive truth, this great principle of natural as well as of revealed religion.

speaks sufficiently to the point, and shows the general faith to be still the same in the time of all. And the Jews continued, like their enemies the Christians, to worship a God of three persons in one substance; and the second of these persons, as peculiarly the Lord of nature, and the God of their nation: even when they had crucified him in a human form, upon one of their hills near Jerusalem; when they had repeated their rebellion against him, by persecuting his followers on every side; and when his religion, in spite of all their efforts, had taken deep root in their soil, had shot out its branches into the nations around, and was preparing to cover the whole world with its shade.

As late then as the beginning of the second century, did the Jews generally continue in the faith of their ancestors and of all mankind, concerning the Deity of the Logos or Son of God. So far did the heaven-descended Nile flow on, generally pure and limpid in its waters. But it soon contracted an apparent foulness, from the muddy soil through which it was now running. In half a century, it became discoloured all over; and has continued so ever since. This the dialogue of JUSTIN MARTYR with TRYPHO the Jew, which was written about the year 155^t, comes in with a melancholy efficacy to show us.

^t See Mod. Un. Hist. xiii. 164.

“The prophets,” says Trypho, “glorified the Creator of all things, God, even *the Father*; and proclaimed him that was to come from him, *Christ his Son*.” The Jews, like our modern Arians, still acknowledged their Messiah to be the *Son* of God; but, like them, in some equivocal and ir-relative sense, that was incompatible with his Scriptural attributes of honour, incompatible with his Scriptural investment of Divinity. “As to what you say,” adds Trypho afterwards, “that this Christ EXISTED AS GOD FROM ALL ETERNITY, and then endured to be born and become man, and yet not man off man; *seems to me,—not only paradoxical, but also foolish*.” “I,” says Justin, “replied to this,” that “I know the account seems paradoxical, and *principally to the men of your nation*;—but I can show, that HE EVEN PRE-EXISTED THE SON OF THE CREATOR OF ALL THINGS, being GOD, and was born man through a virgin.”

“*We all*,” as Trypho rejoins, “*expect* Christ to be born *a man off men*;—answer me therefore first, how you can show that there is *any other God*,

“ P. 225. Τον ποιητήν των όλων θεον και Πατέρα εδοξάζον, και τον παρ’ αὐτοῦ Χριστον υιον αὐτοῦ κατήγγελλον.

“ P. 267. Το γαρ λεγειν σε, προυπαρχειν, θεον οὐλα, προ αιωνων τῦτον Χριστον, εἶλα και γεννηθηναι ανθρωπον γετομενον υπομειναι, και ολι εκ ανθρωπος εξ ανθρωπου, ε μονον παραδοξον δοκει μοι ειναι, αλλα και μωρον.

“ P. 267. Οιδ’ ολι παραδοξος ο λογος δοκει ειναι, και μαλιστα τοις απο τε γενεας υμων—. αποδειξαι—δυνωμαι, ολι και προυπηρχεν υιος τε ποιητη των όλων, θεος ων, και γεγεννηται ανθρωπος δια της παρθενε.

“besides

“besides the Creator of all things².” “Show me,” he repeats again, “that there is *any other* confessed “by the spirit of prophecy to exist, besides the “Creator of all things³.” Justin accordingly sets himself to show, that “in the beginning, before all “creatures, God GENERATED a certain Rational “Power OUT OF HIMSELF, which is also called by “the Holy Ghost” in Scripture, “THE GLORY OF “THE LORD, and sometimes SON, and sometimes “WISDOM, and sometimes ANGEL, and sometimes “GOD, and sometimes LORD and LOGOS;” that this Being “is testified by the Maker of all things, “to be WORSHIPPED as both GOD and CHRIST;” and that the Jews were all called upon, to know “GOD who CAME FORTH FROM ABOVE, and who “BECAME MAN AMONG MEN, and who is again to “return, when *they who pierced him* shall see and “lament^b.”

“Ye ought to blush,” answers Trypho, “at say-

² P. 268. Πάντες ημεεις τον Χριστον ανθρωπον εξ ανθρωπων προσδοκωμεν γεννησεσθαι. P. 269. Αποκριναι ην μοι προλερον, πως εχεις αποδειξαι, οτι και αλλος Θεος παρα τον ποιητην των ολων.

³ P. 274. Αποδειξον ημιν, οτι εις ος Θεος παρα τον ποιητην των ολων, υπατα προφητικη πνευματος ωμολογηται ειναι.

^b P. 284. Απο των γραφων δωσω, οτι αρχην, προ παντων των κτισματων, ο Θεος γεγεννηκε Δυναμιν τινα εξ εαυτου λογικην, ηις και Δοξα Κυριη υπο τα Πνευματος τα Αγια καλειται, ποτε δε Υιος, ποτε δε Σοφια, ποτε δε Αγγελος, ποτε δε Θεος, ποτε δε Κυριος και Λογος. P. 287. Οτι γην και προσκυνητος εστι, και Θεος και Χριστος, υπο τα αυτα ποιησαντος μαρτυρημενος. P. 288—289. Ινα και Θεον ανωθεν προελθοντα, και ανθρωπον εν ανθρωποις γενομενον, γνωρισητε, και παλιν εκεινον παραγεννησομενον, ον οραν μελλετε και κοπιεσθαι οι εκκελησαντες αυτον.

“ *ing these things*; and rather say, that this Jesus
 “ *was a man off men*: for you attempt to demon-
 “ *strate a point incredible, and almost impossible*, that
 “ God endured to be born, and to become man^c.”
 “ Since you say,” he subjoins, “ that Christ was
 “ *pre-existent AS VERY GOD*, and by the will of
 “ God was made flesh, and born man off a virgin;
 “ how can ye demonstrate his pre-existence^d?”
 Justin therefore proceeds to demonstrate it, assert-
 ing Joshua to have given only a temporary inheri-
 tance to the Jews, “ as being not Christ THE GOD,
 “ or THE SON OF GOD;” and noticing the Sacra-
 ment of the Eucharist, as “ a memorial of the
 “ *Passion, which GOD suffered IN THE VERY GOD^e*.”
 And at the close Justin says thus: “ if ye had known
 “ these things, O Trypho, ye would not have blas-
 “ phemed him, who has now been come, been
 “ born, has suffered, and has ascended into heaven;
 “ who shall also appear again, and then shall your
 “ twelve tribes mourn: for if ye had understood the
 “ sayings of the prophets, ye had not *denied* him to

^c P. 291. Ὑμεῖς, τὰ αὐτὰ—λεγοντες, αἰδεῖσθαι οφειλέτε, καὶ μᾶλλον
 ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ἀνθρώπων λεγόμενοι λέγειν τὸν Ἰησοῦν τέλειον. P. 292. Ἀπίστον
 γὰρ, καὶ ἀδύνατον σχεδόν, πρᾶγμα ἐπιχειρεῖς ἀποδεικνύναι, ὅτι θεὸς ὑπο-
 μείνει γεννηθῆναι, καὶ ἀνθρώπος γενεσθαι.

^d P. 314. Χριστόν,—καὶ θεὸν αὐτόν, προυπαρχοῦντα λέγεις, καὶ, κατὰ τὴν
 ἐβλὴν τῆς θεᾶς σαρκοποιηθέντα, αὐτόν λέγεις διὰ τῆς παρθενῆς γεγεννησθαι
 ἀνθρώπον· πῶς δύναται ἀποδειχθῆναι προυπαρχῶν.

^e P. 340. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ προσκαιρὸν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὴν κληρονομίαν, αἱ εἰς
 Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ὢν, ἔδε υἱὸς θεᾶς. P. 345. Ἐν ἧ καὶ τὴ παθῆς, ὁ πεποιθε-
 δι’ αὐτῆς ὁ θεὸς τῆς θεᾶς, μεμνηταί.

“ be God, the *Son* of the only and un-begotten and
 “ un-describable God^f. ”

— II. —

So evidently had the Jews *then* made a grand turn, in that prime principle of theology, which they had professed for so many ages before. The turn indeed is an amazing one. They had veered round the whole compass of their belief, in this point; and the needle now stood pointing to the opposite pole. And as this had been effected, no doubt, by a gradual advance of variation; so was that variation, we may be sure, produced by the concussions, which their faith received from the assaults of the Christians. In the violence of their opposition to the Christians, and in the animosity of their zeal against these *new* professors of *their own* theology; they abandoned their theology, in order to be dissimilar to them. With the natural trepidation of minds, that have more of passion than principle within them; they precipitately ran from *them* and from *themselves*, at once.

But, besides this general reason, they had a peculiar one of their own. They would feel most

^f P. 355. Εἰ ἐγνωκεῖτε, ὁ Τρυφῶν, — ἔκ αν ἐβλασφημεῖτε εἰς αὐτὸν ἡδὴ καὶ παραγενομενον, καὶ γεννηθέντα, καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ἀναβάντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν· ὅς καὶ πάλιν παρῆται, καὶ τοῖς κοψόνται υμῶν αἱ δώδεκα φυλαί. ἔπει εἰ νουηκαῖε τὰ εἰρημενά ὑπὸ τῶν προφητῶν, ἔκ αν ἐξηρνεῖσθε αὐτὸν εἶναι θεόν, τὸ μόνον καὶ ἀγεννητὸν καὶ ἀρρητὸν θεὸν υἱόν.

forcibly

forcibly the strong reproach of the Christians against them, derived from the Divine Nature of their Messiah. They had crucified him, when he came to them. They had thus crucified the Son of God, the God of their fathers and of themselves. This crucified personage the Christians had now received for *their* God, denominating themselves from his Greek appellation of Messiah, and discriminating themselves by the *adoration* of his Divinity. And, in order to escape from this horrible imputation, the Jews were impelled by every sense of shame, and instigated by every principle of passion; to alter the tone of their belief in this point, and to deny what they had so long acknowledged. They thus retired from the holy ground, on which they and their fathers had stood posted for so many ages; and fell back to new ground, that bordered on the very region of infidelity.

That, in the first and second century, the Christians *did* discriminate themselves from the Jews, by the direct and profest adoration of our Saviour as God; is evident from a variety of testimonies Hea-then and Christian, that singly are some of them well known, and yet are few of them known in their union. St. Stephen's dying recommendation of his soul to THE LORD JESUS, so similar in its import to our Saviour's recommendation of his to the Father, and so closely accompanied with that act of more than human generosity in both, the
prayer

prayer of intercession for their murderers, then in the very deed of murder; carries the worship of our Saviour, to the highest point possible of Christian antiquity^g. The general mode of commencing and concluding the Epistles of St. Paul, in a prayer of supplication for the parties, to whom they were addressed; in which he says, "Grace to you and "Peace from God our Father, and"—from whom besides? "THE LORD JESUS CHRIST;" in which our Saviour is at times invoked *alone*, as "the "Grace of OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST be with you "all," and is even invoked the *first* at times, as "the Grace of THE LORD JESUS CHRIST, *and* the "love of God, *and* the communion of the Holy "Ghost, be with you all;" shows us plainly the practice of the original Christians, in the conduct of this greatest of all the apostles, and in the behaviour of that first of all the martyrs^h. And the practice was so predominant among these, our earliest ancestors in the religion of the Gospel, that it became their own designation for themselves; the historian of the apostles, and the principal writer of the apostolical epistles, familiarly characterizing them by the descriptive title, of "all that in every place CALL "UPON THE NAME OF JESUS CHRIST OUR LORDⁱ."

^g Acts vii. 59—60.

^h Romans i. 7 and xvi. 24, 1 Cor. i. 3 and xvi. 23, 2 Cor. i. 2 and xiii. 14, Gal. i. 3 and vi. 18, Ephes. i. 2 and vi. 23, &c.

ⁱ 1 Cor. i. 3, Acts ix. 14 and 21, and 2 Tim. ii. 22.

So interwoven with the very frame and texture of our religion, with the first threads and original web of it, does the invocation of Christ appear to have been; by the very hand of Christ himself! Accordingly we see all ages of the Christians afterwards, represented in the historical symbols of St. John, as associating our Saviour with God in their worship; saying to him, "THOU wast slain, and hast re-
 "deemed us to God by thy blood out of every
 "kindred and tongue and people and nation,—and
 "we shall reign on the earth;" adding, "Worthy
 "is THE LAMB that was slain, to receive Power,
 "and Riches, and Wisdom, and Strength, and
 "Honour, and Glory, and Blessing;" and repeating, "Blessing, and Honour, and Glory, and
 "Power, be unto Him that sitteth upon the throne,
 "and unto THE LAMB, for ever and ever^k." This singular prophecy, which binds up the very worship of our Saviour with the very truth of our religion, by declaring the worship shall go on with the religion in all ages, and be the marking element of it in all; has been actually fulfilled to the honour of our religion, in all ages since it was uttered; the main body of Christians in every period and through every nation, however differing in other points, having united with the apostles and Evangelists, in "calling upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord."

^k Rev. v. 9—10, 12, & 13.

Heathens concur with Christians, to show this in the first and second century.

That famous epistle of Pliny to Trajan, comes immediately in proof; in which the Christians of his time are reported, from *their own* accounts, in their Sunday meetings for worship before daylight, and in their liturgical service antecedent to the Eucharist, principally and particularly to “sing hymns to CHRIST as GOD;” and which Eusebius in a later period quotes for history, and by quoting corroborates, thus, “they sung hymns to Christ ACCORDING TO THE FORM OF WORSHIPPING GOD¹.” A very little later than Pliny was Polycarp, who

¹ Pliny x. 97. “Carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere;” and Eusebius Eccl. Hist. iii. 33. p. 128. τὸν Χριστὸν θεὸν διζήν ὑμνεῖν. In this passage of Pliny’s Epistles, the word *sacrament*, which is not repeated by Eusebius, is *first* used for one of the discriminative formalities of Christian worship, and for that which we peculiarly denominate *the* Sacrament at present. The Christians declared of themselves, says Pliny, that they used “se—SACRAMENTO non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis,” after the Sacrament, “morem sibi discendendi fuisse, *rursusque coeundi* ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen, et innoxium,” in their *Ἀγάπαι* or love-feasts; “quod ipsum facere desisse post edictum meum, quo, secundum mandata tua, hetærias esse vetueram.” So old is the present language of Christians, concerning the Eucharist! The language is only what was used by the Christians to Pliny, and re-used by Pliny to the Emperor. And the Christians appear from all, to have met for publick worship *every Sunday*, “*stato die*,” to have paid their worship to Christ *every Sunday*, and *every Sunday* to have received the Sacrament at the close of it. So usefully liturgical is Pliny!

shows

shows us the usage of his cotemporary brethren, in writing thus to the Philippians, “ May the God
“ and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, *and* may
“ HE HIMSELF, the Eternal High-Priest, the Son
“ of God, Christ Jesus, build you up in faith and
“ truth—; and give to you a lot and part among
“ his saints, and to us with you, and to all who are
“ under heaven, who shall believe in our Lord
“ Jesus Christ *and* in his Father:” and in beginning his epistle to them like a genuine apostle, thus,
“ Mercy and Peace be multiplied unto you, from
“ God Omnipotent, *and* from THE LORD JESUS
“ CHRIST our Saviour^m.” But in another work we see Polycarp and his cotemporaries, still more strikingly portrayed to us as the worshippers of our Saviour. In that circular letter, which gives us so pleasing and pointed an account of the martyrdom of this hero in Christianity, *immediately after it happened*; which Scaliger declared to be so affecting to him in the perusal, as to transport him beyond himself; and which is addressed by the whole assembly of Christians at Smyrna, to all the assemblies of

^m Russel's Patres Apostolici, ii. p. 228. Epist. ad Philipp. Ελεος υμιν και ειρηνη παρα θεου παντοκρατορος, και Κυριου Ιησου Χριστου του σωτηρος ημων, πληθυνθειη; and p. 247. sect. xii, where the Greek is lost,
“ Deus—et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et ipse Sempiternus
“ Pontifex, Dei Filius, Jesus Christus, ædificet vos in fide et veritate,
“—et det vobis sortem et partem inter sanctos suos, et nobis vobiscum, et omnibus qui sunt sub cœlo, qui credituri sunt in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum et in ipsius Patrem.”

T

their

their brethren “in every part of the Holy and Catholic church;” the introductory prayer runs in this very style of Polycarp and of the apostles, “May Mercy, Peace, and Love, be multiplied to you, from God the Father, *and* from our LORD JESUS CHRISTⁿ.” In the account itself, Polycarp, who declares he had now served Christ “for eighty-six years;” whom the Heathens of Smyrna declared, to be “the Master of Asia, the Father of the Christians, and the Overthrower of their Gods;” and whom the Christians revered so much in their common intercourses with him, as to press to touch his very skin^o; thus pays his dying acknowledgments to our Saviour, in conjunction with the Father and the Holy Ghost. “I praise thee,” he says to God the Father as he stood at the stake, “I bless thee, I glorify thee, *with* the Eternal and Heavenly JESUS CHRIST, thy beloved Son; WITH WHOM to thee *and* the Holy Ghost be glory, both now and to the future ages. Amen^p.” This illustrious martyr, like his leader

ⁿ Russel, ii. p. 323—324. Κατα πάντα τοπον της αγιας και καθολικης εκκλησιας, and ελεος, ειρηνη, και αγαπη απο θεου Πατρος, και του Κυριου ημων Ιησου Χριστου, πληθυνθειη. See also the note for Scaliger.

^o P. 340. Sect. ix. Ογδοηκοσια και εξ ετη εχω δελευσων αυτου. Sect. xii. p. 346. Ο της ασεβειας [rather Ασιας] διδασκαλος, ο πατηρ των Χριστιανων, ο των ημελων θεων καθαιξινης, and p. 350. Sect. xiii. Δια το αιεκαστον των πισων σπεδαζειν, ος τις ταχιον τε χρωλος αυτου αφηται.

^p P. 352. Sect. xiv. Αινω σε, ευλογω σε, δοξαζω σε, συν τω αιωνιω και επθρανιω Ιησου Χριστω, αγαπηλω σε παιδι· μεθ’ υ σοι και Πνευματι Αγιω η δοξα, και νυν και εις τας μελλοντας αιωνας. Αμην.

in martyrdom St. Stephen, worships our Saviour with his last breath.

But the describers of his death, who appear to have been present at all this impressive scene of martyrdom, inform us of an additional circumstance; that is very remarkable in itself, and very signally indicates the general worship of our Saviour, among the Christians of the time. The *Jews*, who had concurred with the Heathens in the executive part of this martyrdom, suggested and urged, say the narrators; that the body of Polycarp should not be given to the Christians, for the rites of sepulture; lest they, "*leaving*" "the crucified man, should begin to *worship* Polycarp⁹." So apparently in the opinions of the Heathens, did the Christians worship Christ! But as the narrators remark with a just indignation, at the idea of Christians worshipping any *created* being; "they know not that WE CAN NEVER LEAVE CHRIST, —OR WORSHIP ANY OTHER; FOR WE ADORE HIM, AS BEING THE SON OF GOD^r." So avowedly, in the acknowledgments of the Christians themselves, did they worship Christ! And they even derived their very appellation, we may be sure, from the most obvious and most striking manifestation of their attachment to Christ, that which was infinitely more

⁹ P. 360. Sect. xvii. Μη, —αφέντες τον ες αυρωμενον, τειον αρεωνια σεδεσθαι.

^r Ibid. ibid. Αγωνητες, ολι εις τον Χριστον ποτε καλαλιπειν δυνησομεθα, —εις ειερων τινα σεδεσθαι. Τειον μεν γαρ, υιον οντα τα θεα, προσκυνημεν.

striking and obvious than their belief in him, and that by which (as we have just seen) they were expressly denoted among themselves; their “calling upon the name of Jesus Christ their Lord,” or, in other words, their adoration of him as their God.

The martyred Polycarp, adds the narration, “having by patience subdued the unjust governor, “and having so received the crown of immortality; “exulting *with the apostles and all the just*, glorifies “God even the Father, *and* blesses OUR LORD^s.”

The narration also fixes the time of the martyrdom, in this extraordinary manner; saying it was “when “Philip the Trallian was Highpriest, when Stratius “Quadratus was Proconsul, and when JESUS “CHRIST WAS KING FOR EVER; to WHOM be glory, “honour, majesty, an everlasting throne, from “generation to generation. Amen^t.” And it concludes with this speaking form of doxology, in honour of the whole Trinity; exhorting the Christians to “walk in the evangelic word of

* P. 362. Sect. xix. Δια της υπομονης—καταγωνισαμενος τον αδικον αρχοντα, και βίως τον της αφθαρσιας γεφανον απολαβων, συν ταις αποστολοις και πασι δικαιοις αγαλλιωμενος, δοξαζει τον θεον και Πατερα, και ευλογει τον Κυριον ημων.

† P. 366. Sect. xxi. Επι αρχιερεως φιλιππου Τραλλιανου, ανθυπα- λευου του Στρατιου Κουαδρατου, Βασιλευου του δε εις της αιωνας Ιησου Χριστου· ω η δοξα, τιμη, μεγαλοσυνη, θρονος αιωνιος, απο γενεας εις γενεαν. Αμην.

“ Jesus

“Jefus Chrift, WITH WHOM be glory to God even
“the Father *and the Holy Ghoft* ^u.”

With fuch an affemblage of evidences, for the univerfal worship of our Saviour by his followers, at this period; has the little history of Polycarp's martyrdom fupplied us. But let us again appeal to a Heathen testimony, for the general fact. We have another epistle like Pliny's, yet much lefs known, and written by the emperor Adrian to one, who was conful in 134^x. In this, a patriarch of the Jews^y is faid by the Emperor, to have been “urged” on his coming into Egypt, “by one “party,” the Heathens, “to worship Serapis, “and by another,” the Chriftians, “TO WORSHIP “CHRIST^z.” The worship of Chrift, we fee, was as much the test and touchstone of a Chriftian in Egypt; as the adoration of Serapis was of a Heathen there. But, a few years after this epistle was

^u P. 367—368. Sect. xxii. Στοιχεύσας τῷ κατὰ το εὐαγγέλιον λόγῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ δόξα τῷ θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ καὶ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι.

^x “Serviano Cos.” This is C. Julius Servilius Ursus *Severianus*, Consul in 134, and Consul in 111, under the title of C. Julius Ursus Servilius *Servianus* (*Fasti Consulares*); called simply *Servianus* in one inscription of the time (*Grævius's Thesaurus* xi. 444. edit. 1694); more simply *Servianus* in another (*ibid.* 445), just as he is in the present epistle; and *Servianus* again, in the very life of Adrian by *Spartian* (*ibid.* *ibid.*).

^y *Mod. Un. Hist.* xiii. 144—145.

^z *Vopisci Saturninus*, *Aug. Hist. Scriptores*, Lug. Bat. p. 959. “Ipse ille Patriarcha,—ab aliis Serapidem adorare, ab aliis cogitur “Christum.”

written, lived Justin Martyr. “We worship and
 “adore,” he says to the Emperor Antoninus
 Pius, in his apology for universal Christianity,
 “God, *and* his Son, who came from him and
 “taught us these things, — *and* the Prophetick
 “Spirit^a.” “We are not like Atheists,” he adds
 in another part of the same work, “as we wor-
 “ship the Fabricator of this universe; — *and* —
 “Jesus Christ, — *having learned* him to be the
 “Son of him who is truly God, and holding him
 “in the *second* place; *and*, in the *third* order, the
 “Prophetick Spirit^b.” So generally and so fixedly
 was Christ worshipped in union with the Father,
 by the Christians of the *middle* of the second cen-
 tury; that Justin notices it in an apology to a Hea-
 then emperor, and notices it as one of the grand
 signatures of Christianity.

Yet let us turn to an authority, a little later in
 time, and Heathen in its nature. Heathen testi-
 monies take faster hold upon the mind, than Chris-
 tian do; because this circumstance must have been
 exceedingly prominent upon the face of Christiani-
 ty, to arrest the attention of a Heathen. Lucian
 wrote a very few years after Justin, in order to ri-

^a P. 56. Εκείνον τε, και τον παρ’ αυτης Υιον ελθοντα, και διδασκοντα
 ημας ταυτα, — Πνευμα τε το Προφητικον, σεβομεθα και προσκυνημεν.

^b P. 60. Αθεοι μιν εν ως εκ εσμεν, τον δημιουργον τεδε τε παντος
 σεβομενοι, — και — Ιησυν Χριστον, — Υιον αυτης τε οληως θεου μαθοντες, και εν
 δευτερα χωρα εχοντες, Πνευμα τε Προφητικον εν τριτη ταξει.

dicule (as ridicule is the only argument of the profligate and the silly) that religion, which was then rising into great consequence, and which was yet exposed to infinite discouragements; and makes use of his acquaintance with the nature of the Christian Deity, to point his weak weapons against it. He objects in express terms to the Christians, that “they ADORE the very SOPHIST WHO WAS FASTENED UPON A CROSS^c.” He also introduces a Christian, as instructor to a Heathen in the new theology of the world. His Heathen comes-in abusing “those most accursed Sophists” the Christians, for some things which he had just heard from them; and swearing by the Jupiter of heaven. The Christian reproves him for the oath, because of the inability of his Jupiter to punish him, if he swore

^c Opera Omnia (Basil. 1563) iv. de Morte Peregrini, p. 277. Θεὸς μὲν τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἀπαρηστώνται, τὸν δὲ ἀνεσκολοπισμένον ἐκείνον σοφιστὴν αὐτῶν προσκυνῶσι. So p. 275, τὸν μέγαν γὰρ ἐκείνον ἐπὶ στήθεσιν ἀνθρώπου, τὸν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ἀνεσκολοπισθέντα. See Pearson on the Creed, p. 203, for σκολοψ. “These unhappy men,” says Lucian, the wretched despiser of all that was great and lovely in human nature, “are persuaded they are wholly immortal, and shall live “for ever; wherefore they even condemn death, and many voluntarily “offer themselves to die. After their First Lawgiver persuaded “them, to be all brothers to one another; then they at once revolted, denied the gods of the Greeks, and now adore,” &c. Πεισκάσι γὰρ αὐτῆς οἱ κακοδαιμονεῖντες, τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἀθάνατοι εἶναι, καὶ βιώσεσθαι τὸν αἰὲν χρόνον· παρ’ οὗ καὶ καταφρονεῖ τὸ θάνατον, καὶ ἔκοντες αὐτῆς ἐπιδίδασκιν οἱ πολλοί. ἔπειτα δὲ ὁ νομοθετὴς ὁ πρῶτος ἐπεῖσεν αὐτῆς, ὡς ἀδελφοὶ πάντες εἶναι ἀλλήλων, ἐπειδὴν ἀπαξ παρὰ βάντες, θεὸς μὲν, κ. τ. λ.

falsely; and then holds up the whole system of Hea-
then mythology, to the ridicule which it so naturally
provoked from its intrinsic absurdities^d. “ I will
“ teach thee,” he adds, “ what is the universe, and
“ who is he that was before all things, and what is
“ the frame of the universe. For I myself was
“ once in your unhappy situation, when the GALI-
“ LEAN met with me. This *bald-headed* and *book-*
“ *nosed* man, having mounted through the air to
“ the third heaven, and having learned there things
“ of the fairest kind; has renewed us by water, has
“ guided our feet into the steps of the Blessed, and
“ has ransomed us from the regions of the ir-reli-
“ gious. And I will make you, if you will listen
“ to me, a man in reality^e.”

“ There was,” he subjoins concerning the chaos of
“ the universe, “ He who was Light Incorruptible,
“ Invisible, Incomprehensible, which dissolved the
“ darkness, and chased this deformity away, a word
“ only being spoken by *him*; as the Stammerer hath
“ recorded. *He* compacted the earth upon the waters,
“ *he*

^d P. 460. Philopatris. Των τρις καταρατων εκεινων σοφιστων, p. 461,
νη τον Δια τον αιθεριον, and 461—468.

^e P. 468—469. Εγω γαρ σε διδαξω τι το παν, και τις ο πρωην παν-
των, και τι το συστημα τε παντ. και γαρ πρωην καγω ταυτα επασχον
απερ συ, ηνικα δε μοι Γαλιλαι ενετυχεν. αναφаланτιας, επιρριν, ες
τριτον θρανον αεροβατησας, και τα καλλις εκμεμαθηκως, δι' υδατ ημας
ανεκαινισεν, ες τε τα των μακαρων ιχνια παρεισωδευσε, και εκ των ασεδων
χωρων ημας ελυτρωσατο. και σε ποιησω, ην με ακως, επ' αληθειας αν-
θρωπον.

“ *he stretched forth the heaven, he configured the*
 “ *fixed stars, he commanded the course of those*
 “ *whom*

The personalities here concerning our Saviour, are very remarkable. But both these strong marks of similarity, the *hooked nose* and the *baldness*, are wholly discarded by our painters. Yet the authority of so early a writer as Lucian, is sufficient to assign them both to our Saviour. We have even the latter confirmed, in a signal and unnoticed passage of ecclesiastical history. Near the end of the fifth century, a painter of Constantinople (says Theodorus) “ presumed
 “ to draw our Saviour in the character of Jupiter,” *τὴ ἐν ταῖς Διὸς*
τον Σωτῆρα γράφει τολμήσαντος. Like a second Phidias, no doubt, he drew him from the original of Jupiter in Homer :

Ἡ, καὶ κυανέσιν ἐπ’ ὀφρύσι νευσε Κρονίων·
Ἀμβροσiai δ’ ἀρα χαιται ἐπερῶσαντο ἀνακτος,
Κρατος ἀπ’ ἀθανάτοιο.

Jove spoke, and nodded with his dark-blue brows :
 And on the head of the immortal king
 Loose flowed his tresses scented with ambrosia.

The dark brows and the flowing tresses were given to our Saviour ; and *our* Jupiter was decorated with the two great ensigns of Homer’s. But, what strongly shows the aversion of the age to such a portrait, the painter is said to have been punished by a miracle, for his rashness. And, as the historian remarks very appositely to Lucian’s intimation, “ a different figure for our Saviour, one with *curled* and *thin*
 “ *hair* is more true ;” *τὸ ἄλλο σχῆμα τῆς Σωτῆρος, τὸ ἔλον καὶ ὀλιγο-*
τριχον, ὑπαρχει τὸ ἀληθεστερον (Reading’s Eccl. Hist. iii. 566). See also Pearson on the Creed, p. 87—88, for some more questionable particulars concerning the person of our Saviour. These attentions to it, are very pleasing to a pious mind. We are gratified by notices of this kind, when we meet with them about one of the heroes of antiquity. But we are gratified in a tenfold higher degree, by reverence mingling with our curiosity, and by the gratitude of piety enhancing our general antiquarianism ; in this Hero of the human
 race,

“ whom you worship as Gods. *He* also beautified
 “ the earth with flowers, produced man out of
 “ non-entity

race, this grand Model of man, and this Associator of our nature with Divinity.

Let me subjoin a remark merely critical, concerning the eye-brows of Jupiter above. They are considered as *black* by all the commentators and translators, but I have presumed to make them *darkly blue*. This seems strange, and yet it is just. *Κυανεος* in Greek, and *Cyaneus* in Latin, have the idea of blue predominating in all their senses. Of this we cannot have a fuller proof, than that passage of Pliny: “ De Jaspidium Generibus:—magnitudinem jaspidis
 “ undecim unciarum vidimus, formatamque inde effigiem Neronis
 “ thoracatam: reddetur et per se CYANOS, accomodato pauló anté
 “ jaspidis nomine, *colore caruleo*” (xxxvii. 9). This was probably used in powder and infusion, by the ancient dyers; as Pliny says of the stone, that the ancients *stained* it, and that their dyers used Indian amethysts: “ adulteratur maximé tincturâ, idque in gloriâ regis Egyptiî ascribitur, qui primus eam tinxit;” and “ ad hanc,” the amethyst, “ *tingentium officinæ* dirigunt vota” (ibid). The Romans had also a *flower* of the name: “ in Italiâ violis succedit rosa,
 “ huic intervenit lilium, rosam *cyanus* excipit, *cianum* amarantus” (xxi. xi). But how come the eye-brows of Jupiter, to be of the same colour with either the flower or the stone? They *were so* died, no doubt. The custom had previously prevailed among the Greeks, for *their own persons*; and was still kept up in Homer’s days, for the *statues* of Jupiter. Mahomet the impostor is declared to have died *the hair of his head*, with “ *al Henna* or *Cyprus indigo*,” and other plants (Mod. Un. Hist. i. 232). The women “ of better condition” in Egypt, to this day “ paint their feet with a dye made of
 “ a seed called *Hennab*; and they colour their eye-lids with black lead,
 “ and so do many even of the men among the Turks” (Pococke, i. 192—193). The *κυανος* of the Greeks, the *cyanus* or *cianus* of the Latins, is evidently in its origin nothing more, than the *Henna* of the Egyptians and the Arabs, or the indigo of Cyprus; which being brought to us in cakes from the East-Indies, where the best is still made, by the Portuguese at first (I suppose), assumed among us the
 Portuguese

“ non-entity into being, and is in heaven beholding
 “ the just and unjust, and writing their deeds in
 “ books,

Portuguese appellation, of *indico*, indigo, or the Indian blue; and which, being transplanted much earlier and over land in the seed into Egypt and Cyprus, retained its Indian appellation of *chenna* or *benna*, and gave name to a blue stone and a blue flower among the Greeks and Latins. This, when it is used by itself in painting, forms a blackish or dark blue. With this, no doubt, the Greeks painted the eye-brows of Jupiter's statues; and the poet borrowed the epithet from the custom. This indeed throws a circumstance into the description, which sounds strangely to *our* ears, and takes off from the sublimity of the whole. But then it accounts precisely for the introduction of the term, and gives us the full scope of the author's idea. And we have a remarkable passage in Pliny, that shows the painting of the statues of Jupiter, to have been once in high use even at Rome, and still to have continued in Ethiopia. “ Invenitur in argentariis metallis,” he says, “ minium quoque, et
 “ *nunc* inter pigmenta magnæ auctoritatis, et *quondam* apud Romanos non solum maximæ, sed etiam *sacræ*: enumerat autores Verrius, quibus credere sit necesse, *Jovis ipsius simulachri faciem diebus festis minio illini solitam, triumphantumque corpora; sic Camillum triumphasse*; hæc religione etiam *nunc* addi in unguenta cœnæ triumphalis, et a censoribus in primis *Jovem miniandum* locari: cujus rei quidem causam miror; quanquam *et hodie* id expeti constat *Æthiopum populis, totosque eo tingi procures, huncque ibi deorum simulachris colorem esse*” (xxxiii. 7). We thus see the practice of painting the face, beginning with the human person, then communicated to the Divine statue, once retained by both at Rome, and, as late as the days of Pliny, retained by both in Ethiopia. But we may come still nearer to the point. In Judæa, in Greece, and at Rome, the women; and in Media, sometimes in Parthia, the very men; actually coloured over their *eye-brows* with a wash of antimony, that gave them a black appearance (Xenophon's *Κυβερνητικά*, p. 15, Hutchinson, edit. 3d; and Ainsworth under *Stibium*). Even now, as appears from Mr. Bruce's Travels, the Ethiopians at times blacken their *lips* with antimony; and, as equally appears from Mr. Franklin's

“ books, and will repay to all in the day which he
 “ himself has appointed^f.” Thus does Lucian re-
 present the system of Christianity in that early day
 of it, to have considered “ Him who is Light In-
 “ corruptible, Invisible, Incomprehensible;” Him,
 who at the creation “ dissolved the darknefs, and
 “ chased the deformity away, a word only being
 “ spoken by him, as [Moses] the Stammerer hath
 “ recorded;” Him, who then “ compacted the
 “ earth upon the waters,” who “ stretched forth
 “ the heaven,” who “ configured the fixed stars,”
 and who “ commanded the course of those whom
 “ the Heathen worshipped as Gods;” Him, who
 afterwards “ beautified the earth with flowers,”
 then “ produced man out of non-entity into being,
 “ and is” now “ in heaven beholding the just and
 “ unjust, and writing their deeds in books;” Him
 therefore, who was so confessedly God in the opi-
 nion of the Christians at that time, and who is so

Franklin's Travels into Persia, the Persian women rub their *eye-brows* and *eye-lids* with the black powder of antimony, which they call *Surma*, and from which the native lustre of their eyes acquires an additional brilliancy.

^f P. 469—470. Ἦν φῶς ἀφθιτον, ἀορατον, ἀκατανοητον, ο ἴκει το
 σκοτος, καὶ τὴν ἀκοσμίαν ταυτην ἀπῆλασε, λογιῶ μόνῳ ἐκθεντι ὑπ' αὐτῆς,
 ὡς ο Βραδυγλωσσος ἀπεγγραψατο· γῆν ἐπηξεν ἐφ' ὕδασι, ἡρανὸν τανύσειν,
 ἀστῆρας ἐμορφώσεν ἀπλανεῖς, ὁδοὺς διεταξάτο, ὡς σὺ σεβῇ θεὸς. γῆν δὲ
 τοῖς ἀνθέσιν ἐκαλλώπισεν, ἀνθρώπου ἐκ μὴ ὄντων εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρη-
 γαγε· καὶ ἐστὶν ἐν ἡρανῶ βλεπόντων δικαίους τε καὶ ἀδίκους, καὶ ἐν βιβλίοις
 τὰς πράξεις ἀπογεγραμμένων, ἀνταποδώσει δὲ πᾶσιν, ἡν ἡμέραν αὐτὸς
 ἐνετείλειτο.

apparently

apparently the God of us Christians at present; to be our Saviour himself, “ the Judge of all the “ earth” in the language of the Old Testament, or, in the language of Christianity then as repeated by Lucian, Him, who “ will repay to all in the day “ which he himself has appointed.” From the minute particularity and the just accuracy of his notices here, Lucian plainly appears to have known the whole creed of our religion thoroughly; and to have seen the Christians universally acknowledging one Being, for their original Creator, their present Inspector, and their future Judge. And, as we all confess the Judge to be in our estimation, and to have always been in theirs, our Great Redeemer himself; we must equally confess our Redeemer, to have always been in theirs what he is in ours, the present Inspector and the original Creator of man. “ Are “ then,” asks the Heathen with a well-preserved propriety of character, and in a natural tone of amazement at a doctrine, so wonderful in itself, and so formidable to our feelings, as God’s eye constantly surveying our actions, and God’s hand constantly recording them in writing; “ are then “ the acts even of the Scythians, written in heaven?” “ All of them are,” answers the Christian, “ for CHRIST is also among the Gentiles.”

Lucian

§ P. 473. Εἰπε, οἱ καὶ τὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐν τῷ ὕμνῳ εὐχαριστοῦσι. Τρ. πάντα, οἱ τυχοῖ γὰρ Χρῆσθαι καὶ ἐν ἐθνέσιν. The Heathen mode of writing the

Lucian thus *expresses*, who his Judge, his Inspector, and his Creator to the Christians is. "You talk," replies the Heathen in ridicule, "of many writers in heaven, for all things to be written down." "Be decent," rejoins the Christian, "and say nothing contemptuous of the propitious God; but be catechised and persuaded by me, if you wish to live for ever^h." Lucian thus owns the Christ of the Christians, to be their God. And I have cited these passages, as useful in themselves, and as introductory to another. They lay the foundation for the Christian adoration of our Saviour, in the Christian ascription of positive Divinity to him.

The original Creator of the world and of man, the present Inspector and Recorder of his actions, and the future Repayer of them at his own appointed day of judgment; was then in the opinion of the

the name of our Saviour, *Chrestus* instead of *Christus*; is well known. It is in Suetonius. It is here. And it is noticed by Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Lactantius, and some others, as prevalent among the Heathens then; in their calling his followers *Chrestians*, instead of *Christians* (Bingham's Orig. Eccles. Book I. ch. 1. sect. xi.). But though it was common among the Christians too, yet it has never been observed it was the mode of *pronouncing* the name, that gave rise to it among both. *Christus* was pronounced *Chrestus* by both, and was therefore written so by the Heathens. It is still pronounced so, by the French. And the name of St. Catherine's *Cree* church in London, and of *Chrest-cross* row among our children, show our ancestors to have pronounced it in the same manner.

^h P. 473. Κε. πολλας γεγραφειας φης εν τω θρανω, ως απαντα απογραφεισθαι. Τρ. ευτομει, και μηδεν ειπης φλαυρον θει διξιθ, αλλα κατηχημενΘ. πειθ παρ' εμθ, ειπερ ζην χρηζεις εις τον αιωνα.

Christians,

Christians, as was well known to the Heathens, CHRIST, the acknowledged and “the propitious “GOD” of Christianity. Christ was certainly, therefore, *worshipped* by those who *deified* him. We find him accordingly said expressly by Lucian before, to be worshipped. And we find that solemn appeal to him which an oath makes, and which is in substance a real act of worship, made to him in this manner. “Whom then shall I adjure,” enquires the reprovèd Heathen. The Christian answers thus:

“The God who keeps his residence on high,
“The Great, th’ Immortal Sovereign of the sky;

“THE SON of the Father, THE SPIRIT proceeding
“out of the Father, ONE OUT OF THREE, and
“THREE OUT OF ONE: consider THESE as JUPI-
“TER, esteem HIM as GOD.” This is evidently intended as a fair and undistorted representation, of the grand article in the catechism of the Christians then. And the Heathen is made to reply to it, with all the rash wit of a modern Arian. “You teach
“me arithmetick,” he cries, “and the oath is
“arithmetical; for you even play the arithmeti-
“cian, like Nicomachus the Gerasene: and I know
“not what you say, ONE THREE, THREE ONE;
“are you speaking of the Tetractys, or the Ogdoas
“and Triakas, of Pythagoras?” Lucian here makes

¹ P. 468. Κρ. και τινα επωμοσολμα, γε; Τρ. Υψιμεδοντα Θεον, μεγαλ, αμβροτον, αφαιωνα, Υιον Πατρ®, Πνευμα εκ Πατρ® εκπρενομενον, Ερ

makes his Heathen do, as the Heathens undoubtedly did at the time, and as we hear some Christian Heathens occasionally doing at present; confound what is wholly distinct, substitute interchangeably the Essence for the Personality and the Personality for the Essence, and perversely apply the Unity to

ἐκ Τριῶν, καὶ ἐξ Ἐνός Τρία. Ταῦτα νομίζει Ζηνα, τὸν δ' ἡγεῖ Θεον. Κε-
αριθμεῖν μὲ διδάσκεις, καὶ ἀρχὴ ἡ ἀριθμητικὴ καὶ γὰρ ἀριθμεῖς, ὡς Νι-
πομαχος ὁ Γερασηνός. ἔκ οὖδα γὰρ τι λέγεις, ἐν τρία, τρία ἐν. μὴ τὴν τε-
τρακτὺν φῆς τὴν Πυθαγόρῃ, ἢ τὴν οὐδοαδὰ καὶ τριακάδα;

As Homer (I apprehend) supplies the first part of the Christian's answer, so Euripides certainly furnishes the close of it. Athenagoras quotes Euripides saying impiously by one of his characters, that "if Jupiter is in heaven, he ought not to make this good man miserable," and that in fact "the high, the unbounded æther, which clips the earth round in its moist arms, is Jupiter:"—

Τέτον νομίζει Ζηνα, τὸν δ' ἡγεῖ Θεον.

See Athenagoras's *Legatio pro Christianis*, p. 5, in the Cologne edition of Justin Martyr. And the same line is also quoted from Euripides, by Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* v. p. 717. The line, therefore, was well known formerly; and is actually quoted, as the note on Clemens shows, by Cicero and by Plutarch also.

Socinus rates this testimony of Lucian very highly. "*I have not met with any thing hitherto,*" he says, "*which seems more in favour of that Triune God, who was then received and worshipped by the Christians; than what is adduced in proof of it from the dialogue, which is denominated *Philopatris*, and inserted among the works of Lucian.*" "*Nec vero nobis quidquam hætenus legere contigit, quod Trini istius Dei, a Christianis jam tum recepti et culti, fidem facere videatur magis; quàm quæ ex dialogo, qui *Philopatris* inscribitur et inter Luciani opera numeratur, ad id probandum affert Genebrardus, l. 1 et 2, de Trinitate*" (Socini *Opera*, ii. p. 698, Irenopoli, 1656). Nor can it be rated too highly.

the

the three Persons, and the Trinity to their one Nature. But he also shows us in his faithful glass of characters, a lively reflected image of the Christian deification of our Saviour. This awful personage is the Son of the Father, and with him and with the Spirit forms the Divinity of Heaven; being One of the Three that are personally distinct and substantially united, being with them considered as Jupiter was by the Heathens, and with them esteemed as God was among the Christians; an object of religious worship to the latter, and the centre of solemn appeals with them. And thus, from the suspended state of his mind betwixt Christianity and Heathenism, and from his consequent ability to keep up an historical exactness in his speakers, the profane satyrist becomes an useful witness, and the bold blasphemer materially serves the cause of the Gospel.

But I beg to make use of Lucian once more, and so to close my evidence for the adoration of our Saviour. The Christian Triephon comes at last to ask the Heathen Critias, what had occasioned the agitation of spirits, in which he appeared to be at their meeting. Critias at first refuses with an oath, to tell him. But his oath is no longer an appeal to Jupiter. It is a Christian oath, as of a man now half converted to the Gospel. "By the SON," he says, "HIM WHO IS FROM THE FATHER,

U

"I will

“ I will not tell you.” “ Tell me,” replies Triphon, “ and receive the power of telling me from *the Spirit.*” Critias then tells him, of his seeing “ a very large company” of Christians, “ whisper-
“ ing one another in the ear;” of his going up to them; of his finding them listening to an orator, a little old man, that “ coughed” and “ spit” and “ spoke with a thin weak voice;” of another speaking at intervals, who had “ a very shabby gown, no
“ shoes to his feet, and no covering to his head,” and who “ gnashed his teeth” as he spoke. The subject of their conversation was the calamities, that they thought were coming on the empire. He was therefore leaving them with indignation. But one of them, who “ had the fierce look of a Titan,” laid hold of him by the gown; and carried him
“ through gates of iron and paths of brass, and by
“ very many circling staircases, into a hall roofed
“ with gold,” and the Heaven of the Christians in the sky, I suppose. There he saw the inhabitants,
“ bowing down” as in prayer, “ and very pale-
“ faced” from their fasts. But at the sight of him they raised their heads with joy, and advanced to meet him, “ for they said we should bring them
“ some bad news; as they appeared to pray for
“ the most unhappy events, and rejoiced over ca-
“ lamities, like the avenging Furies in the theatres.” They then put their heads together, whispered, and
said:

said: "Who, whence art thou, what is thy city,
 "and what thy parentage, for thou shouldst be
 "CHRIST from thy figure?" he himself, I suppose,
 being bald and hook-nosed. He told them. They
 enquired after "the state of the city [Rome],
 "and the state of the world." "These prosper
 "and will prosper," he replied. But they "de-
 "nied it with their nodding brows," said the fact
 was not so, and declared the city to be in great
 pangs of labour; predicting "disorders and con-
 "fusions to come upon the city, and the armies to
 "be vanquished by the enemy." This they knew,
 they said, because they had "continued fasting ten
 "days, and, while they were watching at *their sing-*
 "*ing of hymns* through the whole night, dreamed
 "such things." And it was this circumstance,
 which had thrown him into the agitation of spirits
 at first^k. The Christian very properly advises
 him,

^k P. 475. Κε. Νη τον Υιον τον εκ Πατρ^{ος}, η τ^ητο γεννησεται. Τριτ.
 Λεγε, παρα τ^η Πνευματος δυναμιν τ^η λογη λαβων—; πληθος παμπολυ,
 εις το ης ψιθυριζοντας—; P. 476. ανθρωπισκος τις,—σεσημμενον γερον-
 τιον, κ. τ. λ.; P. 477. τριβωνιον εχων πολυσταθρον, αναποδετος τε και
 ασκεπος, μετεπειπε, τοις οδυσιν επικρατων; P. 478. εις δε δριμυ και τιτα-
 νωδες ενιδων, κ. τ. λ.; P. 479.—δηλθομεν σιδηρεας τε πυλας, και χαλκειας
 οδους, αναβαθρας δε πλειστας περιεκυκλωσαμενοι, a strong evidence, that
 our geometrical staircases were then as well known, as they are at pre-
 sent, εις χρυσοροφον οικον ανηλθομεν, οιον Ομηρος τον Μενελαον φησι, allud-
 ing to the lines which Mr. Pope has translated thus:

him, to sooth his passions into peace, by dismissing his anger at the Christians, and by using their forms of supplication to God. "Let the men
"alone," he says, "and begin with the prayer to
"the Father, and add *the Song of many names* at the
"close¹." What was this Song? We have just

Then to the dome the friendly pair invite,
Who eye the dazzling roofs with vast delight;
Resplendent as the blaze of summer-noon,
Or the pale radiance of the midnight moon.

Above, beneath, around the palace shines
The sumless treasure of exhausted mines;
The spoils of elephants the roofs enlay,
And studded amber darts a golden ray:
Such, and not nobler, in the realms above,
My wonder dictates is the dome of Jove.

ODYSSEY IV.

There, he says, he saw not Helen, but *ανδρας επικεκυφοντας και καταχρισμενους*, *εφασκον γαρ, τινα λυγοαν [λυγραν] αγγελιαν αγαγοιμεν· εφαινοντο γαρ υτοι, ως τα κακια ευχομενοι, και εχαιρον επι τοις λυγροις, ωςπερ αι Ποινοποιαι επι θεατρα;* *τις, ποθεν εις ανδρων, ποθι σοι πολις, ηδε τοκηες; Χρητος γαρ αν ειης απο γε τε σχηματ²; P. 480. πως τα της πολεως, και τα τε κοσμος· ην δ' εγω, χαιρεισι γε παντες, και επι γε χαρησονται· οι δε ανενευσαν· ταις οφρυσιν, εχ υτω, δυσκοι γαρ η πολις; P. 481. αταξιαι δε και ταραχαι την πολιν καταληφονται, τα στρατοπεδα ητλονα των εναντιων γενησονται· and p. 482. ηλιος δεκα ασιτοι διαμενυμεν, και επι παννυχιος υμνωδιας επαγρυπνυντες, ονειρωτλομεν τα τοιαυτα.* So Julian the apostate speaks of Diodorus the Christian, as having "a face
"dreadfully pale," "*faciem pallore confectam*" (Facundus, iv. 2, p. 59). Lucian shows, that the Heathens fancied this paleness in the Christians, because of their fasting.

¹ P. 484. *Εασον τετρες, την ευχην απο πατρος αξεαμενος, και την πολυνυμνον ωδην εις τελος επιθεις.*

seen the chanted services of the Christians, to form the principal part, and so to give the general denomination, of their nocturnal devotions. Pliny also informs the emperor, that the Christians met “ before day, and *sung a hymn alternately* to Christ as “ God^m.” But these songs of the church always terminated, with a “ Song of many names.” They terminated with that short hymn of glorification, which we still sing *to the whole Trinity*. We terminate every psalm so. So have all the western churches done, except the Roman; from and before the beginning of the fifth century. But the eastern and the Roman “ added the Song of many names,” only “ at the close” of allⁿ. The Christians thus appear

^m Epist. x. 97. “ Ante lucem convenire, *carmenque* Christo, “ quasi Deo, *dicere secum invicem*,”—There is a Greek hymn to Christ in Clemens Alexandrinus, p. 312; which has been conjectured by Bull, p. 169, to be either one of the very hymns here alluded to by Pliny, or one composed in imitation of them. But the reading of it is sufficient in my opinion, to show it is not the former. It is too wild, too figurative, and too abstracted, ever to have been used in any popular assembly. Nor does it divide itself into alternate parts. But it addresses our Saviour, as “ King of Saints, the “ All-conquering Logos of the Most High Father, Ruler of Wisdom,—Heavenly Way, Everlasting Logos, Infinite Duration, “ Eternal Light,” &c. And it is introduced thus: “ As we are “ now in the *church*, let us sing praises to the Lord” (p. 311).

ⁿ Cassian, lib. ii. cap. 8. “ Illud etiam quod in hac provinciâ “ [Galliâ] vidimus, ut, uno cantante, in clausulâ psalmi omnes “ tantes *concinant* cum clamore, *Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui “ Sancto*; nusquam per omnem orientem audivimus, sed cum omnium “ silentio,

appear in the time of Lucian, to have spent a portion of the night in publick devotions to God, to have made alternate psalmody the main substance of them, to have begun with a set prayer to God the Father, and to have ended their psalmody, as we end every psalm, and as we conclude our whole service, with an address to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, all specifically named together. And this testimony exactly coincides with a Christian and comprehensive one, about the *conclusion* of the second century; one Caius, a presbyter of Rome, saying expressly, that “the holy psalms and songs of the brethren, which *from the beginning* have been written by the faithful, *are* hymns DEIFYING CHRIST THE WORD OF GOD.”

We

“*silentio, ab eo qui cantat finito psalmo, orationem succedere, hanc vero glorificationem Trinitatis tantummodo solere antiphona terminari* [antiphonam terminare].” Bingham’s Orig. Eccl. Book xiii. chap. x. sect. 14. See also xiv. 1, 8.

• Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. v. 28. Ψαλμοὶ δὲ οὕτως [it should be οὕτως] καὶ ὡδαὶ ἀδελφῶν, ἀπαρχῆς [ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς] γραφείσθαι, τὸν λόγον τῷ Θεῷ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑμνεῖν θεολογούντες. Irenæus adv. Hær. i. 5, p. 16, also shows us, that *at this very time* the Christians used the whole doxology, just as we now use it; he referring to the very close of it, *world without end*, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. See Grabe’s note. That the *Messiah*, in the opinion of the very Jews themselves, *was* to be *worshipped*; see Allix’s Judgment, p. 290—291. Photius, in the note to Eusebius, points out the person who is the author of this testimony.

This dialogue of Lucian’s was written about 165, as appears from the close. “The pride of Persia,” says a person hastily coming in, “that has been formerly reported so loudly, is fallen, and
“ Susa,

We have thus Heathens and Christians; the deserters of Christianity, the insulters of its founder, and

“Susa, the great city;” *πεπτωκεν οφρυς η παλαι βοωμενη Περσων, και Σουσα, εκεινον αςυ* (p. 484—485). Lucian himself notices these events, in his treatise “*Quomodo Historia scribenda sit*.” He speaks of the war as just over, *τον αυτον τουτον πολεμον*, (ii. p. 379). This is called “the war of the *Parthians* and the Romans,” *τον πολεμον των Παρθυαιων και Ρωμαιων* (p. 381). He then speaks of “the king of the *Persians*,” *των Περσων βασιλεα*, as opposed to “our general” *ημετερον αρχοντα* (p. 379—380). He afterwards calls this king of the Persians expressly, *Vologesus* (380, 386, &c.). He notes “the ruin brought upon *Nisibis*, because it would not take part with the Romans,” *οιον Νισιβηνοις λοιμον, τοις μη τα Ρωμαιων αιρεμενοις, επηγαγε* (p. 381). He hints at *Osroes* swimming across the Tigris, and hiding himself in a cave (p. 386—387). He also speaks of a great battle at *Europus* (p. 388 and 396), a town in Mesopotamia (p. 392), and of an assault made upon *Edeffa* (p. 389); and observes in general “of the things *now* done by the Romans in Armenia, and Mesopotamia, and Media,” *των εν Αρμενια και Μεσοποταμια και εν Μεδια Ρωμαιοις νυν πραχθεντων* (p. 401). And finally he notices *Priscus Severianus* or *Severinus* (p. 343 and 344), *Saturninus*, *Fronto*, and *Titianus* (p. 388), as all engaged in the war; when they were actually the generals of the Romans in it. See *Anc. Un. Hist.* xv. 213—214, from Dio and others. Only the account in p. 214, which “Lucian is not ashamed to tell us;” is merely an account, that is expressly ridiculed by him for its monstrous absurdity (p. 388). Nor is the note in p. 138 less false, which attributes this dialogue to Trajan’s victories and the year 115. He who mentions facts that happened in 165, could hardly have hinted at a fact as very recent, which happened half a century before. The same events are undoubtedly alluded to, in both these tracts. And the Christian in *Philopatris* adds, with an immediate reference to Christ, upon these great events: “I, O Critias, leave these things to our children, to see Babylon destroyed, Egypt enslaved, the children of the Persians spending their days in slavery, the excursions of

and the ridiculers of its doctrines, united with evangelists, apostles, and martyrs; all proving beyond a possibility

“ the Scythians restrained, I wish I could say precluded; and we,
 “ having found *him who was unknown at Athens*, and *worshipping*
 “ him, will stretch out our hands to heaven, and thank *him*, for
 “ being thought worthy to be subjected to the power of *such a Be-*
 “ *ing* ;” Καγω, ο Κριτια, ταυτα καταλειπω τοις τεκνοις, ως ιδειν Βαδου-
 λωνα ολλυμενην, Αιγυπτον δελημενην, τα των Περσων τεκνα δουλειον ημαρ
 αγοντα, τας εκδρομας των Σκυθων παυομενας, ειτ’ ουν και ανακοπτομε-
 νας· ημεις δε τον εν Αθηναις αγνωστον εφευροντες και προσκυνησαντες,
 χειρας εις ουρανον εκτειναντες, τουτω ευχαριστησομεν, ως καταξιωθεντες τοι-
 ουτου κρατους υπηκοοι γενεσθαι (p. 485—486). Such a conclusion as
 this to the dialogue, however favourable to my argument, seems ra-
 ther unfaithful to the purpose of Lucian. But this and several pas-
 sages before, unite to show his intimate acquaintance with the Holy
 Books of our religion, both the Old and the New; and corroborate
 the opinion which has long been entertained from Suidas, that he
 originally professed our religion. None but a professor could have
 been so thoroughly conversant, with all the principles, practices,
 traditions, and scriptures of Christianity. And though that spirit
 of profligacy, which loses all vigour of intellect in the laxity of
 laughing at every thing, and is holding up a glass of deformity to
 all but its own absurdity, induced him at first probably to desert the
 happy system which he had embraced, and instigated him to ridicule
 after he had relinquished it; yet he seems, even in this, the most
 bitter perhaps of all his satires against his former religion, to have
 revered even while he ridiculed, to have been checked in his satiri-
 calness by a consciousness of his own impiety, to have retained too
 much of the Christian to be an outrageous vilifier, so to have injured
 his cause by his modesty in the course of the dialogue, and to have
 abandoned it at last in his impotent and betraying conclusion. And
 I have entered into this long note concerning it and him, to answer
 the surmises of the Arians, who would fain annihilate the authority
 of this strong evidence against them, by idle objections and frivolous
 exceptions. Socinus is their model in this and in other points. He
 urges

possibility of doubt, the adoration of Christ's Divinity to have been as popularly practised by the Christians, in the first and second century of our religion, and under the purest and strongest runnings of it, as it now is by ourselves, in these lees and dregs of the Gospel-times^p. In this state of worship among the Christians, when the father of their faith was peculiarly the object of their adoration; the Jews would be violently tempted, to separate themselves more decisively than ever, from these sectaries of their own religion. These had taken *their* faith, were playing back *their* professions upon them, and, under the banners of the very God whom *they* had crucified, were triumphing over the Gentiles with a success, which *they* had never been

urges strongly for the *modern* date of it. He then supposes it *may be* Lucian's. And even then "perhaps" it shows the faith, to be only partial. "Diximus autem *fortasse*," he adds (ii. p. 698). So loth to allow, what he could not oppose!

^p The reader, who would wish to see the evidences for this point, carried on to a still later period; may consult the work that first gave me the hint of what I have said upon it, the only work indeed that has drawn the evidences in a regular train together; Bingham's Orig. Eccl. Book xiii. chap. 2. And after such a long and splendid train of witnesses, as I have here produced, we must say of any man, who should dare to deny the worship of our Saviour in the first and second century; that *ignorance* may affirm in the very face of facts, without any infringement upon its *veracity*; and that *impudence* may assert to the very teeth of history, without any impeachment of its *knowledge*.

able

able to obtain themselves^q. “Ye not only did not
 “repent,” says Justin Martyr to them, “when ye
 “learned that he was risen from the dead; but ye
 “*appointed chosen men, and sent them out into all the*
 “*world*, to say that a certain atheistical and lawless
 “heresy had been begun by one Jesus a Galilean;
 “whom when we had crucified, his disciples stole him
 “by night out of the tomb, in which he had been laid
 “when taken down from the cross^r; and are de-
 “ceiving men, by saying he is risen from the dead
 “and gone back into heaven; perversely asserting
 “him to have taught such things, as ye, in opposi-
 “tion to those who confess him to be Christ, and
 “their Teacher, and the Son of God, say to be in
 “the opinion of all mankind, atheistical, lawless,
 “and unholy. Additionally to this, and *since your*
 “*city has been taken and your land desolated, ye repent*
 “*not*, but even presume to *curse* him and all that
 “believe on him^s.” They actually presumed to
 frame

^q The Jew at present “reads how his ancestors saw him [Jesus]
 “adored by the Christians, in the *first* century; and he proves it—
 “from the *Talmud*, wherein are *divers* relations of R. Eliezer, the
 “great friend of R. Akiba, who lived in the *end* of the *first* century
 “and the *beginning* of the *second* century, concerning the Gospels,
 “and the *publick worship* rendered to Jesus Christ by the Christians”
 (Allix’s Judgment, p. 432).

^r How much does this confirm the narration in Mat. xxviii. 13!

^s Justin, p. 335. Ου μόνον ἔμετενοήσατε, μαθόντες αὐτὸν ἀναστάντα
 ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀλλ’—ἀνδράς χριστοτανησαντες ἐκλεκτός, εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην

frame a formal prayer against the Christians, in which, as Epiphanius informs us, “ at their rising in “ the morning, and at mid-day, and about the even- “ ing, thrice in the day when they say their prayers “ in the synagogues, they imprecate wrath against “ them, and anathematize them; calling upon God to “ curse the Nazarenes^t.” And a prayer remains to this day in the liturgy for the service of the synagogue, imploring the vengeance of God upon the Christians; not indeed under the appellation of Nazarenes, which we know to have been their marked and invidious name among the Jews^u; but with the softer and yet coeval title, of Hereticks and of Apostates^x. “ Let there be no hope to *them*,” they pray,

ην επιμψατε, κηρυσσοντας οτι αιρεσις τις αθεος και ανομος εγνηγερται απο Ιησϋ τινος Γαλιλαιου πλανη^ς ον σταυρωσαντων ημων, οι μαθηται αυτου κλειψαντες αυτον απο τη μνηματος^ς νυκτος^ς, οποθεν κατετεθη αφελωθεις απο τη σταυρου, πλανωσι της ανθρωπης, λεγοντες εγνηγεσθαι αυτον εκ νεκρων, και εις ορανον ανεληλυθεναι, κατειποντες διδιδασκεναι και ταυτα, απερ, κατα των ομολογηντων Χριστον και Διδασκαλον και Υιον Θεου ειναι, παντι γενει ανθρωπων αθεα και ανομα και ανοσια, λεγετε. Προς τητοις, και αληθης υμων της πολεως, και της γης ερημωθειας, η μετανοειτε, αλλα και καταρασθαι αυτη, και των πιστευοντων εις αυτον παντων, τολματε.

^t Epiphanius, i. 124. Ανισαμενοι εσωθεν [εωθεν], και μεσης ημερας, και περι την εσπεραν, τρις της ημερας οτε ευχας επιτελουσιν εν ταις των συναγωγαίς, επαρωνται αυτοις, και αναθεματιζουσι, φασκοντες οτι επικαταρσασαι ο θεος της Ναζωραιης.

^u Acts xxiv. 5. St. Paul is called “ a ringleader of the sect of the “ Nazarenes.”

^x Acts xxiv. 14. “ This I confess unto thee,” says St. Paul, “ that after the way *which they call heresy*, so worship I the God of “ my

pray, " who apostatise from the true religion; and
 " let Hereticks, *how many soever they be*, all perish
 " as in a moment: and let the Kingdom of Pride,"
 not the Roman empire surely, as the words are in-
 terpreted, but uniformly with the words before, and
 with the frequent words of John the Baptist, of our
 Saviour, and of his evangelists and apostles, *the*
Kingdom of God under Christianity, then exulting in
 its numbers, and elevating itself over Judaism, " be
 " speedily rooted out, and broken in our days:
 " blessed art thou, O Lord our God, who destroy-
 " est the wicked and bringest down the proud".

This spirit of rage against the Christians, ap-
 pears to have been inflamed by an incident, which
 should have extinguished it; that astonishing erup-

" my fathers;" Acts xxi. 28. " This is the man," St. Paul, " that
 " teacheth all men every where *against*—the law;" and Bingham's
 Orig. Eccl. Book xiii. chap. v. sect. 4.

⁊ Prideaux's Connections, ii. 128 (Edinburgh, 1779, edit. 14th),
 for the prayer itself and a note upon it. " This prayer—was added
 " by Rabbi Gamaliel, or, as others say, by Rabbi Samuel the Little,
 " who was one of his scholars" (ibid.): " Gamaliel, a man, accord-
 " ing to them," the Jews, " of unsufferable *pride*:—in his days
 " flourished Samuel the Less, who composed a prayer full of the
 " bitterest curses against Hereticks, by which he means the Chris-
 " tians, and *which is still in use to this day*: Gamaliel was no less an
 " enemy to them." And as " these,—the Rabbies tell us, *preceded*
 " the *destruction* of the temple" (Mod. Un. Hist. xiii. 142—143);
 so would the fact (if true) furnish us with a new argument, for " the
 " kingdom of pride" meaning not the Romans, but the Christians.
 See next note.

tion

tion of vengeance from God, the destruction of their capital, the dispersion of their nation, and the desolation of their country. With this they proceeded to the last limit of fury, against the triumphing Christians; to forswear all their old faith concerning the Messiah, to pretend they expected now a mere man in him, and so to oppose him the more to the Messiah and God of the Christians. And this poison of perverted faith, dubiously insinuated at first, and boldly diffused afterwards, would be quickened in its progress, by the exultation of the Christians over their state of punishment at present, and by the exasperated spirit of the Jews, under a keen feeling of both; and by the middle of the second century, we see, had spread its morbid influence through the whole body of the Jews².

III.—Nor

* There are four prayers for the grand service of the Jewish Temple, and eighteen for the slihter service of the Jewish Synagogue, which are asserted by antient Jews, and believed by modern Christians, to have been certainly used by the Jews in the days of our Saviour (Bingham, xiii. v. 4 and Prideaux, ii. 126—130). But both Christians and Jews are mistaken, in the early date of these prayers. This the prayers themselves show. In one of the four for the Temple, God is desired to “*restore the service to the oracle of his house;*” and in another, to “*bring back their captivity to the courts of his holiness*” (Bingham, p. 124—125). In those for the Synagogue, God is equally desired to “*restore them their Judges as at the first, and their Counsellors as at the beginning;*” to “*restore his worship to the inner part of his house;*” to “*build Jerusalem with a building to last for ever, and to do this speedily, even in their days;*” to “*convocate them together by the sound of the great trumpet,*

— III. —

Nor do we know this extraordinary fact, merely from the pointed contrast which we find in the second

“trumpet, to the *enjoyment* of their *liberty*, and lift up his ensign to
“*call together* all of the *captivity*, from the *four quarters of the earth*,
“into *their own land*” (Bingham, p. 127—128 and Prideaux, p. 128—129). These prayers were apparently written at a period, when the service of God was no longer kept up in the Temple, when the daily sacrifice had ceased, when Jerusalem was destroyed, when the Jews were reduced into captivity, and when they were carried captive out of their own land, to the four quarters of the earth. These passages indeed may be supposed, as they are by Dr. Prideaux (p. 126), to be interpolations of the original prayers. But no interpolations are to be admitted, on a *supposition*. The passages stand strikingly discriminative, on the face of the prayers; and must so stand, *till* they are *proved* to have been interpolated. They are, no doubt, authentick parts of the original prayers. They consequently prove the prayers, to be posterior to the destruction of Jerusalem. And accordingly there is no such notice of the *Son* or *Word* of God, in any of them; as we see in the Son of Sirach, in Philo; in Esdras, in the testaments of the twelve Patriarchs, in the Book of Baruch, and even in the Chaldee Paraphrasts above.

A shrewd and sensible Jew, however, in an address to the usurping rebels of our country during 1656, has taken some pains to vindicate the liturgy of his countrymen, from this charge of imprecation against Christians. This Divine, Physician, and Rabbi acknowledges, “there is in the daily prayers a certain chapter,” just as it is recited above. But this, he says, “speaks nothing of Christians originally, but of the Jews who fell in those times,” the days of Ezra, “to the Sadducees and Epicureans, and to the Gentiles, as
“Moses of Egypt saith—; for by Apostates and Hereticks are not
“to be understood, all men that are of a diverse religion, or Heathens, or Gentiles, but those renegado Jews, who did abrogate
“the

second century, to what we observe in the first and in the days of our Saviour. We actually see some particular

“the whole law of Moses, or any articles received thence.” I have already shown the prayers, to be later than the dissolution of the Jewish polity by the Romans, and yet to be as early as Epiphanius and Justin. *Then* the Jews could not but consider the Christians, as primarily “renegado Jews,” and as therefore “abrogating the whole law of Moses.” But, as Manasseh Ben Israel adds, “neither the kingdoms nor kings that are Christians, or Hagarenes [meaning Mahometans], or followers of other sects, are cursed here, but namely the kingdom of pride: certain it is, that in that time (wherein our wise men added to the daily prayers the foresaid chapter) there was no kingdom of Christians.” That the prayer was put into the Liturgy in the days of Ezra, I have shown before to be false. That there was then no Christianity, is therefore impertinent to be urged. And that there was then no kingdom of Christians, is worse than impertinent. “What therefore that kingdom of pride was, should any man ask; who can plainly show it? *So much as we can conjecture by it*, it is the kingdom of the Romans, which *then* flourished, which did rule over all nations tyrannically and proudly, especially over the Jews.” Here the Rabbi brings down the date of the prayers unthinkingly, from the days of Ezra to the æra of commencing Christianity. And the context, as I have observed above, plainly refers the Kingdom of Pride to the hereticks and apostates before. Consistency of ideas is the grand clue to all meanings. The Jews accordingly “repeated the same words of the prayer,” when the Roman empire was *no longer* a kingdom of pride, when Christianity alone *could possibly be meant*, and, as Manasseh pretends forsooth, “only of an antient custom.” The object in fact remained, when the Romans were gone. The Jews *therefore* continued their prayer, *to the last century*. “And *now* truly in all their books *printed again*, the foresaid words are wanting, lest they should *now* be unjustly objected against the Jews: and so for Apostates and Hereticks, they say Secret Accusers or Betrayers of the Jews; and for the Kingdom of Pride, they substitute all Zedim, that is, Proud Men.” See Phenix, ii.

particular movements, in the opinions of the Jews about the Messiah; that are nearly allied to this, and throw a strong kind of collateral light upon it.

That famous passage in Isaiah, “Behold, *a virgin* shall conceive;” we know to be *now* interpreted by the Jews, in their eagerness to wrest such a weapon of offence out of the hands of assailing Christians, “Behold, *a young woman* shall conceive.” But this interpretation is not the manufacture of the modern Jews. It was fabricated many centuries ago. It is even as old, as the beginning of the second century. And it is actually noticed by Justin Martyr in his Dialogue, as then in circulation among the Jews^a. This is evidently a part of that grand system of alterations, which the Jews were now introducing into their creed, concerning the Messiah. They now discharged, what they had always maintained before; and what their ancestors had therefore asserted, in the Septuagint translation of this very passage; the miraculous derivation of their Messiah, from a virgin mother^b.

In the same spirit, but with a still bolder hand, they have, says Justin, “completely cut out of the

407—408 and 416. They continued their prayers against Christians, till Christian states began to take offence at the prayers; and then for fear altered, what the original cause had induced them to continue, by still continuing itself. See also Allix’s Judgment, p. 431.

^a P. 297.

^b Ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται.

“Septuagint,”

“Septuagint,” and consequently out of the Hebrew original too, “many passages, in which this crucified personage was expressly announced as God and as Man, and was expressly predicted to be crucified and put to death^c.” In confirmation of this charge, Justin alledges some specific proofs. These words, he says, were originally in the Book of Ezra: “and Ezra said unto the people, This pass- over is *our Saviour* and *our Refuge*: and if ye will consider, and it shall enter into your heart, that we are going to humble *him* in a *figure*, and that *after* this we may *hope* in *him*; this place (saith the Lord of Hosts) *shall not be made desolate for ever*: but if ye will *not* believe in *him*, or hearken to *his* preaching; ye *shall be a laughing-stock* to the nations^d.” These also, he notes, have been cut out from the words of Jeremiah: “I am *as a lamb carried to be sacrificed*; over me

^c P. 297. Πολλας γραφας τελεον περιειλον απο των εξηγησεων των γεγεννημενων υπο των παρα Πτολεμαιο γεγεννημενων πρεσβυτερων, εξ ων διαρρηδην—ητος αυτος ο γαυρωθεις, οτι θεος και ανθρωπος και γαυρωμενος και αποθνησκων, κεκηρυγμενος αποδεικνυται.

^d P. 297—298. Και ειπεν Εσδρας τω λαω· Τηλο το Πασχα ο σωτηρ ημων, και η καλαφυγη υμων· και εαν διανοηθης, και αναβη υμων επι την καρδιαν, οτι μελλομεν αυτον ταπεινεν εν σημειω, και μετα ταυτα ελπισωμεν επ’ αυτον, ε μη ερημωθη ο τοπος αυτος εις τον απαντα χρονον, λεγει ο θεος των δυναμεων. εαν δε μη πιστευσητε αυτω, μηδε εισακησητε τη κηρυγματος αυτη, εσεσθε επιχαρμα τοις εθνεσι. This passage, says Justin, was among των εξηγησεων ων εξηγησατο Εσδρας εις τον νομον του περ το Πασχα. It was therefore in Ezra vi, 19—22, and probably between the 20th and 21st verses.

“ they thought thoughts, saying, Come ye, let us
 “ cast wood-ashes upon his bread, and *destroy him*
 “ *out of the land of the living*, and his name shall
 “ be remembered no more^e.” These also in the
 same prophet, he avers, have shared the same fate :
 “ THE LORD GOD OF ISRAEL hath remembered his
 “ dead, which are sleeping in the land of their
 “ graves; and HE WENT DOWN TO THEM, to
 “ PREACH TO THEM THE GOOD TIDINGS OF HIS
 “ SALVATION^f.” And, in the ninety-sixth Psalm,
 he asserts the words ran originally thus: “ say

^e P. 298. Εγω ως αρνιον φερομενον τη θυεσθαι· επ’ εμε ελογιζοντο λο-
 γισμον, λεγοντες, Δευτε, εμβαλωμεν ξυλον εις τον αρτον αυτης, και εκλειψωμεν
 αυτον εκ γης ζωνων, και το ονομα αυτης η μη μνησθη ηκει. This passage is
 yet in the Septuagint and the Hebrew. It runs thus in our transla-
 tion: “ I was like a lamb *or an ox* that is brought to the slaughter,
 “ and *I knew not* that they had devised devices against me, saying,
 “ Let us destroy *the tree with the fruit thereof*, and let us cut him
 “ off from the land of the living, that his name may be no more re-
 “ membered” (xi. 19). This is somewhat different from Justin’s
 extract; but the Septuagint very nearly accords with the latter.
 And the main difference between the Septuagint and the Hebrew,
 arises from the Septuagint missing what our English translation has
 caught, the true sense of the original concerning the *tree* and the
fruit (literally, *bread*) thereof. See Lowth on the place. I have
 given the error in the Septuagint, the only good sense which it can
 possibly admit.

^f P. 298. Εμνησθη δε Κυριος ο Θεος απο Ισραηλ των νεκρων αυτης των
 κοιμημενων εις γην χωματος, και καλεση προς αυτης, ευαγγελισασθαι
 αυτοις το σωτηριον αυτης. Where this passage was, can only be con-
 jectured at present. It was perhaps in xxiii, between the 6th and
 7th verses.

“ among

“ among the Heathen, that THE LORD reigneth
 “ from THE TREE^g.”

Bishop Pearson indeed has asserted concerning the last of these passages, what is naturally suggested to the critical mind by all; that, “ though the
 “ Jews had rased it out of their own” copies,
 “ yet it *appeareth not how* they should have gotten
 “ it, out of the Bibles in the Christians hands^h.” But this is reducing the credibility of facts, to the mere standard of *appearances*. When a fact is sufficiently attested, the appearances must bend to the testimony. And moral improbability must be swept away, before the tide of positive assurance. Yet there is no such improbability, in the present case. The *Hebrew* Scriptures, *at first*, were confined al-

^g P. 298. Ο Κυριος εβασιλευσεν απο του ξυλου. Justin cites these words as once in the ninety-fifth psalm, τα ενενηκοστα πεμπτη; but means *our* ninety-sixth. “ The ninth and tenth psalms,” says an author, “ which are *several* in the Hebrew and Chaldee and Syriack, “ are united and conjoined in the translation, at least the copies “ which we now have, of the lxxii; and so in the Latin and Arabick “ and Æthiopick, which follow the cxxii [lxxii]. And so from “ that tenth psalm forward, the numbers differ, the eleventh in the “ Hebrew being but the tenth in the Greek, &c.; and so in the rest, “ to psalm clvii [cxlvii], which being by the LXXII divided into “ two, their cxlvi and cxlvii,—by this means the number of cl is “ compleated by the LXXII and those that follow them, as also by “ the Syriack; who, though they join not the tenth to the ninth “ psalm, yet unite cxiv and cxv, and so would come short of the “ number also, if they did not with the LXXII divide the cxlvii” (Hammond on the Psalms, p. 3. edit. 1659).

^h Creed, p. 201. edit. 12th.

most entirely to the *Jews*; scarcely any even of the principal Christians, being yet acquainted with the language itself. This is apparent from the very case before us at present, and from the reference of Justin for the excisions to the Septuagint only. This translation of the Scriptures into Greek, would also be limited to a *few* of these *Christians*. The *New Testament* alone was the *general* object of regard among them. So it actually is at present, we see, from the poverty of numbers of Christians; at a time, when the rich are equally Christians with the poor, when the charity of *those* is peculiarly exerted in donations of Bibles to *these*, and when Bibles are multiplied at an expence infinitely less than they were then. So therefore, and in a much more extensive degree, must it have been; when the multitude of believers, as of mankind, was principally of the poor, when the rich were still Heathens, and when copies of the Scriptures were very dear. To know the true state of the Christians formerly in this point, is not to guess at it from merely ideal pictures; but to look out into life before us, to mark historically the difference of circumstances, and then to modify our ideas from both.

Nor is there more weight, in what Pearson has additionally urged; that this clause is not to be found, “in any translation extant,—or—in the *Catena Græcorum Patrum*.” Hammond says more circumstantially, that “the copies which have come
“ down

“ down to us have it not, nor the vulgar Latin,
“ nor yet the Arabick, nor Æthiopick, which all
“ follow the LXXII; nor the version of St. Je-
“ rome, much less the Chaldee or Syriackⁱ.” But
both Hammond and Pearson here do, what men of
learning are apt to do; make merely a parade of
erudition; and throw the dust of literature in our
face, to blind the eyes of our discernment. To say
that the translations and the Catena have not the
clause, is to say nothing to the purpose; *unless* they
are proved to have been *prior*, to the period of the
alledged excisions. If *posterior*, they prove only
what our own translation proves, the non-appear-
ance of the clause upon their respective originals.
Such a non-appearance there would certainly be,
upon most of the antient copies, and all perhaps or
the antient translations; from an excision so early
and so general, as this is attested to have been.
What may therefore be the *effect* of the excision, can
never be used to disprove the reality of it. Most
of the translations and copies are certainly *posterior*
to this. And *none* of them can be *shown* to be
prior.

Nor let us startle at the *crucifixion* of the Messiah,
being so plainly pointed out in the original psalm.
This was written by David^k; and is acknowledged
by both Jews and Christians, actually to refer to the

ⁱ P. 482.

^k Chron. xvi. 23, &c.

Messiah^l. This very David, we know, “in
 “spirit” calleth that Messiah “Lord,” who was
 to be “his Son^m,” thus acknowledging his Di-
 vinity. David also hints at the *crucifixion*; when in
 the very character of the Messiah he says, “they
 “pierced my hands and my feetⁿ.” And if the
 Jews have *actually altered* the words of the original,
 in *this* passage; and have even *attempted* to alter
 them, in that correspondent passage of Zacharias,
 which is repeated and applied by St. John^o, “they
 “shall look on me whom they have pierced^p,” as
 Hammond and Pearson unite to prove they have
 done, though in an age much later than the bold
 excisions of Justin^q; those acts look with a full as-
 pect back upon these, and serve at once to illustrate
 and confirm them^r. Even “the Masorah in se-
 “veral places confesseth,” as Pearson himself informs
 us, “that *eighteen* places in the Scriptures have been
 “*altered* by the Scribes^s.”

This charge of Justin’s against the Jews, there-
 fore, stands unshaken in its authority. It rests
 firmly upon its own *substratum* of evidence. He

^l Hammond, p. 481—482.

^m Mat. xxii. 43—45.

ⁿ Psalm xxii. 16, Mat. xxvii. 46, John xix. 24, and Rev. i. 7.

^o John xix. 37.

^p Zacharias xii. 10.

^q Ibid. Ibid.

^r The very turn of the psalm marks the coherence of Justin’s
 passage with the whole. “God reigneth *from the tree*,” ἀπο τοῦ
 ξύλου; and therefore “all the trees of the wood,” πάντα τὰ ξύλα τοῦ
 δρυμὸς, are said *with peculiar propriety* to “rejoice before the
 “Lord.”

^s Creed, *ibid.*

has asserted it, who from his earliness had the power of knowing it. He has asserted it, whose judgment could not be deceived in such a substantial fact, and whose veracity is beyond all exception. Irenæus accordingly, as Pearson himself has noted in another place, though Irenæus wrote about twenty years only after the martyrdom of Justin, and yet refers to Justin occasionally; has no less than three times adduced the *second* passage of Jeremiah above: attributing it once to Isaiah, then to Jeremiah, and finally to a prophet without a name; and every time appealing to it without hesitation, as a passage either yet remaining, or certainly known to have lately remained, upon the volume of inspiration^t. Only forty or fifty years afterward, and exactly in the same spirit, has Tertullian referred to the passage above in the Psalms, equally without hesitation, and equally without vouching what must have been his and Irenæus's authority for the texts, the testimony of Justin^u. About a century afterwards, Eusebius more comprehensively and more accurately notes, as one of the memorable truths in the writings of Justin; that this author "mentions some express passages of the prophets,

^t Irenæus Adv. Hær. iii. 23, "Esaïas ait," iv. 39, "Hieremias ait," v. 34, "Propheta ait," and Pearson, p. 242. For Irenæus speaking of Justin, see Adv. Hær. i. 31, &c.

^u "Age nunc, si legisti penes Prophetam in Psalmis, Deus regnavit a ligno" (Adv. Jud. x. Op. 196. Rigalt). "Age nunc si legisti penes David, Dominus regnavit a ligno" (Adv. Marc. iii. 19. p. 408).

“ which he says the Jews had cut out of the Scripture^x.” Those who lived nearest to the time of Justin, and knew him best, relied implicitly, we see, upon the evidence of Justin for these excisions. And the acknowledged conduct of the Jews in later ages, lends a decisive energy to all.

This charge, however, seems to have startled our modern criticks by its boldness. But our modern criticks are some of them, men much better calculated to raise doubts and to infuse fears; than to catch the strong points of an argument, to hold them firmly, and to wield them with efficacy against an adversary. Others of them are much better pioneers, than soldiers; fitter to undermine a fortress, than to assault it. And others again, in the fashionable *perfidiousness* of Christian writers *at present*, are more inclined to spread alarms, and propagate timidity, in the army of believers; than to lead them on like red-cross knights, against the host of the Paynims. They have thus been deterred from repeating it, and even precluded from attending to the plenitude of evidence for it. The crime alledged is indeed, as Justin very candidly pronounces it, an act seemingly incredible in itself; being more horribly flagitious, than the formation of the golden calf by their fathers, than the oblation of their children to devils, or the murder of the prophets themselves^y.

^x Eusebius Hist. iv. 18. p. 180. Πηλὸν δὲ τινῶν προφητικῶν μνημονεύει, ὡς αὐτὸν περικυψάντων αὐτὰ Ἰουδαίων ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς.

^y Justin, p. 299.

Yet

Yet the deed is too plain from the evidence. And the excision of these passages by the Jews, in the infinitely greater rarity of copies then than now; and in the equal disruption of the Jewish nation then, into infinite atoms of parties; is too possible not to be considered as practicable, is too historically attested not to be believed as certain, and has been actually detected in the principle and in the operation, upon other passages of Scripture, and in later periods of time.

But we have more facts still, in the history of the Jews since our Saviour; that show the same spirit predominating in their hearts, which impelled them to reject the faith, and to garble the Scriptures, of their fathers. One is the fact, that we all know and all acknowledge. We all know of the exclusion of Daniel, for his *chronological* prophecy of our Saviour's sufferings, out of that very list of prophets, in which Josephus expressly places him; and in which one infinitely greater than Josephus, also concurs to place him^z. And we all acknowledge their reduction of him, from this honourable pre-eminence of

^z Josephus Ant. Jud. x. 7. p. 465. calls him "one of the greatest prophets," ἐν τινὶ τῶν μεγίστων—προφητῶν; says "the Jews were convinced from his writings, that he conversed with God," πεπιστευκαμεν ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὅτι Δανιηλὸς ὡμιλεῖ τῷ Θεῷ; and declares, that "from the completion of his prophecies, he bore a character of v erity, and also a reputation of Divinity, among the multitude," ἀπο δὲ τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτῶν, ἀληθείας πιστῶν, καὶ δόξαν ὅτι θεοειδὴς, παρὰ τοῖς ὄχλοις ἀποφερεσθαι. For our Saviour, see Mat. xxiv. 15.

character,

character, into that lowest class of scripture-writers, which they merely call the *Hagiography*. Another fact is the wild and audacious calumny, which we equally know the Jews to have raised against the Christians; at the introduction of the Gospel into the regions of Paganism. They then reported the Christians in their religious meetings, *to feed upon the flesh of a sacrificed boy*, afterwards to put out their light, and *to mix, men and women, in the casual embraces of darkness with each other*. This calumny, says Origen, “formerly kept up an hostility to the “Gospel, in great numbers of the Heathens.” And, as he adds, “at this day it deceives some into “such an aversion to us, as will not permit them “to hold the slightest conversation with us^a.” But what is finally confirmatory of all, is that astonishing incident, which so dreadfully unites into a point with all. In the second century, and with a bold and daring range of impiety, they *superseded* their *whole* code of Scripture at once, by the formal in-

^a Origen contra Celsum, lib. vi. p. 293—294. Cantab. Δοκῶ μοι παραπλησίον Ἰουδαίους πεποιηκεῖναι, τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆ Χριστιανισμῶς διδασκαλίας κατασκευάσαντι δυσφημίαν τῆ λόγῃ· ὡς ἀρὰ καταθυσάντες παῖδιον, μεταλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὴ τῶν σαρκῶν· Καὶ πάλιν, ὅτι οὐ ἀπὸ τῆ λόγῃ, τὰ τῆ σκοτῆ πράττειν βελομένοι; σέβουσιν μὲν τὸ φῶς, ἕκαστος δὲ τῇ παρατυχῆσθαι μίγνυται· ἥτις δυσφημία παραλογῶς παλαιμὲν πλεῖστων ὁσῶν ἐκράτει, πειθῆσα τῆς ἀλλοτρίας τῆ λόγῃ, ὅτι τοιοῦτοι εἰσι Χριστιανοί· Καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐτι ἀπάτα τινὰς, ἀποτρέπομεν διὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ εἰς κοινωνίαν ἀπληγερὰν λόγων ἡκεῖν πρὸς Χριστιανούς. This slander is also noticed by Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Minucius Felix, in Reeves's Apologies, i. 52, 152, 177, and ii. 61. edit. 2d.

trodition

roduction of their written Cabbalah; in order to elude the positive declarations of God about their Messiah, by some insolently alledged traditions of men^b. It was, I may venture to say, only an inferior spirit of impiety to this, which earlier in the same century, and before the days of Justin Martyr, induced them to recoil from that very line of faith, in which the author of Baruch, the framer of the Patriarchal Testaments, the writer of the second Book of Esdras, and Philo Judæus, were walking after the middle of the first century; and in which *all* the Jews were walking, during and before the days of our Saviour. Yet, as Justin declares those excisions of the Scripture, to have been made by the teachers and leaders of the Jews^c; so he notices one of them, *that* relating to the *former* of the two passages in Jeremiah, to have been made

^b This *Cabbalah* or tradition is comprized in the *Talmud*, and consists of two parts, the *Mishna* and the *Gemarrab*, “to which they give by far the preference, with respect to the written books; whence that saying of theirs, The *Mikdash*, or Old Testament, is like water, the *Mishna* like wine, and the *Gemarrab*, more plain and perfect, like *hippocras*, or the richest of wines” (Ant. Un. Hist. iii. 5). The *Mishna* was written by Judah Hakkadosh. “The most probable opinion is, that he finished it about the year of Christ 180” (Mod. Un. Hist. xiii. 158). And the *Gemarrab* is a comment upon this, written by R. Jochanan “the great disciple of Judah Hakkadosh,” about 225 (ibid. 170—171). These two works form the *Jerusalem Talmud*. Another *Gemarrab*, being equally a comment on the *Mishna*, and written by Ase a disciple of Jochanan, forms the *Babylonish Talmud* (ibid. 171—172).

^c P. 297 and 299.

only “a little time before^d.” This occasioned the passage even then, to be “still remaining in some “copies used by the Jewish synagogues^e,” and has since caused it to be recovered, into our own copies at present. And the whole combines together with an amazing force of evidence, to show the new belief of the Jews in the mere humanity of their Messiah, to have been taken up by them, and incorporated into their creed, in the BEGINNING of the SECOND century.

Thus taken and thus incorporated as the belief was, they soon carried their zeal against the Divinity of their own Messiah, now adored among the Christians; into a savage intemperance of blasphemy. In the very commencement of the next century, one of them had the effrontery to parade through the streets of Carthage, then abounding with Christians; and to exhibit the picture of a being half beast and half man, wearing a long robe, but hoofed in two of his feet, having ass's ears, and carrying a book in his hand; with this inscription to the whole, *the asinine God of the Christians*^f. And such

^d P. 298. Προ ολιγῶ χρόνῳ.

^e P. 298. Ἐτι εἰν ἐγγεγραμμένη ἐν τισιν ἀντιγραφοῖς τῶν ἐν συναγωγαῖς Ἰουδαίων.

^f Tertullian, a Roman of Carthage, in his Apol. adversus Gentes, xvi. p. 16, says thus: “Nova jam Dei Nostri in istâ proxime civitate editio publicata est; ex quo quidem [quidam] frustandis bestiis mercenarius noxius picturam proposuit, cum ejusmodi

such an extraordinary outrage as this, at once marks that audaciousness of violence in the Jews against the Christians, which had originally prompted them to throw off their old faith, and adopt a new one; and displays to our very senses, as it were, the fixed belief of the Christians in our Saviour's Divinity, and the actual adoration of our Saviour by them^s.

IV.—In

“modi inscriptione, *Deus Christianorum Onochoetes*. Is erat auribus
 “asininis, altero pede ungulatus, librum gestans, et togatus.” Rigalt supposes “Judæum Nebulonem Græcæ compositionis vocabulum perperam extulisse,” in *Onochoetes*; “cum intelligi vellet
 “onocoiten, ονοκοῖτην.” And “noxium dicit mercenarium, qui
 “toties bestias frustraverat, elusis ac declinatis agilitate suâ ferarum
 “dentibus; quasi non bonâ fide versatus, cum ad eas sese locasset.”
 That the fraudulent combatant of beasts was a *Jew*, is inferred from the transition of this too lively and rapid writer. These words immediately precede the passage: “si die solis lætitiæ indulgemus, aliâ
 “longè ratione quàm religione solis; secundo loco ab eis sumus,
 “qui diem Saturni otio et victui decernunt, exorbitantes et ipsi ab
 “*Judaico more, quem ignorant: sed nova jam Dei nostri*” &c.

§ Yet some learned individuals among the Jews in several ages since, invited by the strong light of their original faith, have broken away from the covert of darkness, in which the nation has wrapped itself up; and have asserted explicitly the Godhead of their Messiah. See instances of this in notes before; in Pearson on the Creed, p. 148; in Ant. Un. Hist. iii. 11—13, where I consider the book of Zohar as posterior to the Mishna and Gemarrah, as it actually quotes an author of the second century (Allix's Judgment, p. 169); and in the Discussion of the Socinian Controversy, by that clearest and most convincing of all human reasoners, Charles Lesley, M. A. among his theological works, i. 245 and 250. But to these I wish to add three instances, that are much less known, two of them very distinct in time, and all singularly expressive. “Midras Tillim super
 “Psalm

— IV. —

In this manner began to appear that novel faith of the Jews, which we now find to be so firmly established among them, and so boldly daring to claim the authority of their primogenial principles. But error, once set in motion, is seldom at rest. It always finds many too weak to discern, and too indolent to examine, the difference between truth and

“ Psalm x. v. 2,” quoted by Grabe in *Spicilegium*, i. 363, and referring to the Rabbi, whom I have noted before to have drawn up the Gemarrah in A. D. 225; “ *Tribus annis et dimidio fuit DIVINITAS—in Monte Olivarum stans, et vociferans*” &c. See also Allix’s *Judgment*, p. 290, and Lesley, i. p. 68. “ In Bereschith “ Rabba five Commentario—R. Moses Hadarsan super Genes. xlv. “ 18,” which was written about A. D. 1070 (*Mod. Un. Hist.* xiii. 256), is this question and this answer, says Grabe, i. 362 and 364, about rejoicing and exulting in God. “ *Quando hoc fiet? Quando “ ascendent captivi ex inferno, et DEITAS—in capite eorum.*” See also Pearson on the Creed, p. 270. These words sufficiently ascertain their own meaning, to a Christian ear. And that this is also their Jewish meaning, is plain from these words preceding: “ *Quando “ nos gaudebimus? Quando stabunt pedes DIVINITATIS in Monte “ Olivarum*” (i. 365). See also Pearson, *ibid.*

“ We see in the most antient books of the Jews, as in the books “ called Rabboth, Mechista, and in their old Midrashim, almost all “ composed before the 7th century; and in the Talmud of Babylon; “ *the same ideas and the same doctrine*, which we meet in the Apocryphal books and in Philo’s writings. And those ideas have been “ *constantly* followed, by *the most considerable* part of the Jews; those “ very men, who have their name [of traditionists, see p. 158] from “ their constant sticking to the old tradition of their forefathers” (Allix’s *Judgment*, p. 98).

falsehood.

falsehood. Some are even vain enough to take up falsehood in preference to truth, by way of decoration and distinction; as savages carry scalps, for horrible ornament of their persons. And the monster, thus generated among the Jews, was afterwards transmitted by them to the MAHOMETANS.

I.—In all the *national* history of man, there is no person who stands so strikingly prominent upon the page, as the great and venerable Abraham. He is at this moment, as it was predicted almost *four thousand years ago* he should be, the common “father of many nations^b.” As the founder of the *Jews*, he appears with a luster of radiance, which is derived from the very glory of that Godhead, which owned him for its friend, and used his children for the special ministers of its providence. As the progenitor of the *Arabs*, he wears an additional crown of glory; fainter indeed in its radiance, but yet bright and lustrous. These two nations appear to their brothers of the globe, marked with a strange singularity of adventures, and sealed on their foreheads (as it were) with that lively signature of God, the stamp of prophecy. That the son of Abraham by Hagar, should be “a wild man;” that “his hand should be against every man,” and that “every man’s hand should be against him;”

^b Gen. xvii. 5.

but

but that he should still “ dwell in the presence of all “ his brethrenⁱ ;” was a prophecy seemingly personal in itself, but eventually shown to be national. It has proved as truly prophetic concerning his distant descendants, through a long course of ages ; as the parallel prediction concerning him, that, “ because he was the seed” of Abraham, he should become “ a nation,” “ a great nation,” and one formed like the Jews into twelve principalities or tribes, proved in his immediate offspring^k. And the empire of prophecy over man, is signally displayed at once, in the perpetuity of the Jews, and in the invincibility of the Arabs. The elder and legitimate branch of the Abrahamick line, has been kept totally distinct from the mass of mankind, in spite of every moral and political principle, that was busily operating to confound them. The Assyrians, the Græcians, and the Romans, successively conquered them by their arms, but could never incorporate them with their people. They were transplanted by violence, and dispersed by accidents, into various regions of the earth ; yet they mingled not with their human brothers, in any. A supernatural principle of cohesion between themselves, and a divine spirit of reluctance to an union with others, still kept them distinct and separate. No power of earth could make this stubborn element, to amalgamate with the rest. And accordingly the three em-

ⁱ Gen. xvi. 12.^k Gen. xvii. 20, xxi. 13, and xxv. 12—16.

pires rose and fell one after the other, while the Jews alone continued. *Those* have all vanished from the globe, like the gigantick shadows that sometimes attend upon the sun, and sweep across our fields; while *these* have remained like the sun itself, sometimes clouded and sometimes setting, but still bursting out from their clouds, still rising from their settings, and shining out in full luster again. Even now when the Jews are in a state of civil dissolution, and their body politick has been for seventeen hundred years reduced to its constituent particles; they still exist as numerous and as remarkable as ever. And a secret spark of immortality, is active and vigorous within them, lives in their very ashes, and animates the flying dust of their urn. Nor are the Arabs very much inferior to the Jews, in this providential view of history. That moral hostility to mankind, which the separation of the Jews perversely excited in the latter, became a political hostility in their cousins the Ishmaelites. The descendants have equally with their ancestor been "wild men," whose "hand was against every man;" and therefore "every man's hand was against them." They have continued to provoke the world, by the practice of prædatory expeditions into it. Yet they have always been saved from the avenging arm of the world. The three empires attempted in their turns to reduce them; to tame these savage sons of the desert, to bring

Y

them

them within the pale of civility, and so to suppress this bold warfare of ages upon man. But their efforts were all baffled. The broad hand of the Assyrian could not lay them in the dust. The heavy foot of the Græcian could not crush them there. The formidable javelin of Rome was launched in vain, to bear them down. And even the scymitar of the Turks has in vain been sharpened, to cut them in pieces. They still “dwell in the presence of all their brethren.” Their “hand” is still “against every man.” “Every man’s hand” is still “against them.” They remain the lords and sovereigns of their original wilds, and the uncontrolled plunderers of the rest of mankind. And the great current of human actions in the Arabs, in the Jews, and in all the numerous nations connected with either; has now, for four thousand years, wound its waters freely, yet in the very course and channel, which had been marked for it by the finger of God before¹.

These invincible warriors, though descended from Abraham the father of astronomy to the world,

¹ This extraordinary part of the human history, the actual invincibility of the Arabs in every age, has been very properly laid open in *Ant. Un. Hist.* xx. 157. Mr. Gibbon however has denied the fact, and yet—acknowledged it. This has been shown by an author, in the *English Review* of Mr. Gibbon’s three last volumes, December 1788; for *all* whose remarks upon Mr. Gibbon, in the months immediately preceding and subsequent, I acknowledge myself responsible to the publick.

soon lost all the spirit of science in their original founder, and sunk into the lowest savageness of ignorance. They had forgotten those very first elements of all literature, the arts of reading and writing. Even in their principal and central town of Mecca, not a man could either write or read at the beginning of the 7th century; except one, who had turned Jew and then become Christian, and so had learned to write Arabick with the Hebrew letters. And the inhabitants in general were distinguished from those of Medina, a town half filled with Jews and half with Christians; by the appellation of *the illiterate*, in opposition to *the people of the book*. Such a necessary connection has the Revelation of God, with the improvement of Reason in man^m! By the same scale of degradation, they equally went downwards into polytheism. Though they were the

^m Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 36—37. edit. 1697. That Mahomet could really write, has been lately surmised (after Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. ii. 6. Maclaine. 2d. edit.) by a gentleman in the first rank of knowledge concerning him; from two facts, one asserted by Al Bokhari, and another affirmed by all authors; *that* being Mahomet's miraculously writing at the treaty with the Meccans, in the 6th year of the Hegira, or A. D. 627; and *this*, Mahomet's calling for ink and paper in his last illness, in order to write a new Koran for his followers (White's Lectures, p. 205. and notes, p. xxxvi—xxxvii). But, as the last fact is attributed by all his biographers to the influence of a delirium, so the former is denied by all but Al Bokhari; they asserting *Ali* to have been the writer at the command of Mahomet (Mod. Un. Hist. i. 143). Ali must have learned to write, *since* the Christian had.

children of that respectable man, whom God had set up as his glorious antagonist to the rising idolatry of the world; though the ennobling fact should have gone with an awful and salutary influence for ages, through the courses of his descendants; and though it did actually go with such an influence through the Jews, and the main line of the Abrahamick family was, equally with Abraham, the champions of God against idolatry: yet the collateral line revolted from the family and from God, and became gross polytheists. Their country was also the scene of almost all the Mosaick prodigies. They saw with their own eyes that loose block of red granite, which is traditionally denominated the Rock of Moses to this day; with its twelve fissures for fountains, apparently supernatural in themselves; and with its channel for the water, discoloured by the long running, and even incrustated with the earthy particles, of itⁿ. Moses struck the marble with his rod; a miraculous spring burst out from the solid veins; and a miraculous stream continued to flow from it, to attend the movements of the Jews, and to water successively their stations^o.

The

▪ Journal from Grand Cairo to Mount Sinai, published by Dr. Clayton, Bishop of Clogher, 2d edition 1753, p. 35—37, and the notes.

° 1 Cor. x. 4. The Koran actually mentions this rock thus: "We [God] said [to Moses], Strike the rock with thy rod; and "there gushed thereout *twelve fountains* according to the number of
"the

The tradition of all must have been peculiarly powerful, at the very spot. And, in every age, the history must have been substantiated by the objects present, into something like actual vision. Their plains also were covered every morning for forty years together, with the miraculous dew of Manna; the food of angels regularly administered to man; and the bread of heaven supplied to a whole nation on earth. Even one of their mountains had been witness to such displays of the Godhead, as the world had never seen before, and has never seen since; the whole hill flaming with the glory, and shaking (as it were) under the feet, of the descending God. Yet they became idolaters. And they became so humble and abject in their idolatry, as to deify even Ishmael and Abraham, and even to worship a quadrangular stone^p.

“the tribes; and all men knew their respective drinking-place” (ch. 2. p. 8). “The commentators say,” Mr. Sale informs us concerning the rock, “this was a stone which Moses brought from Mount Sinai” (ibid.). They also “describe it to be a square piece of *“white marble [red, in Journal above], shaped like a man’s head”* (ibid.). In p. 134. chap. 7. are the very same words of the text repeated, and this additional note: “according to a certain tradition,—the water issued thence by three orifices on each of the four sides of the stone, making twelve in all; and that it ran in so many rivulets, to the quarter of each tribe in the camp.” See Sale’s Translation of the Koran from the original Arabick, 1734.

^p Prideaux, p. 123, Sale’s Preliminary Discourse to his Koran, p. 20, 21, and Bibliotheca Biblica, Oxford, 1720, vol. i. p. 613.

In this defection from the family-faith, however, the Arabs still retained a full conviction on their minds, of their relation to the Jews. This appears sufficiently, from their deification of Abraham and Ishmael. Even at present, and within the inclosure of their grand temple at Mecca, they show a white stone which they call the sepulcher of Ishmael, whom they believe to have lived and died there; another stone, on which they believe Abraham to have stood when he built the temple; and a well, which they pretend to be the very fountain, that was miraculously opened in the wilderness for Hagar^q. “Verily,” says the Koran itself, “the *first* house appointed “unto men to worship in, was that which is in “Becca [Mecca, differently pronounced]—; there- “in are manifest signs, *the place where Abraham “stood,*” &c.^r. And as they actually form the genealogies of their principal families, in a direct course of descent, though with much ignorance of the principles and facts of chronology, from Ishmael and from Abraham; so they have or had a building close to their temple at Mecca, denominated expressly the *Cupola of Judæa*^s. In this hereditary predominance of family-spirit, they equally adopted

^q Sale’s Discourse, p. 118, Mod. Un. Hist. i. 208—209 and 213—214, and Prideaux, p. 95.

^r Koran, chap. 3. p. 47—48.

^s Mod. Un. Hist. i. 2—7 and 209, and Sale’s Discourse, p. 114, a plan.

the name with which they appear for the first time in the writings of Dioscorides, and by which they became so formidable to the most distant parts of the earth afterwards; that of *Saracens*. Much labour has been lost, and much learning exhausted, in attempting to account for this appellation. But, in the province of etymology, the obvious analysis is almost always the right one. Very properly denominated *Ismaelites* and *Hagarenes* by others, they affectedly called themselves *Saracens*; thus rejecting their descent from the concubine, and challenging it from the wife, of Abraham; till at last they became noticed under that appellation by Dioscorides, by Ptolemy, and the Jerusalem Targum itself. And this etymology, which coincides so closely with the history of their affection for Abraham, and speaks so strongly for itself from all, is confirmed by a curious circumstance, that has never been observed. The *origins* of nations, like the springs of the Nile, have been generally concealed in the clouds. But the Hebrew code comes like another BRUCE, to put aside the clouds, and to unveil the source to the sun. The *names* of nations are generally more obscure still. They are derived from what Homer with a happy fantasticalness calls, *the language of the Gods*; as being a language either no longer spoken, or but little understood, upon earth.

* Ant. Un. Hist. xviii. 340—343, 345, 368—370, and an authority omitted there, Psalm lxxxiii. 6.

Among these names, there are some which have never been known to the world at large, and yet were preserved with fondness by the nations themselves. Thus the denomination of *Gaul* for a *Briton*, appears in none of the earlier records of our history; and yet shows itself conspicuous, in some of its later incidents. The Britons of Kent, Suffex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, and Wiltshire, of Bedfordshire, Somersetshire, Cheshire, and Clydesdale in Scotland, are called Welsh or Gauls by the Saxon chronicle; those of Corn-wall are once denominated *the Western Welsh*, by the same chronicle; all from the Friths of Forth and Clyde to the Channel, are called by it the *British Welsh*; and the Irish and Highlanders name themselves *Gael* or Welsh, at present^u. And we have just such a glimpse of historical light, though a fainter one, accidentally breaking in upon us concerning the appellation of *Saracens*. It was once the indigenous title, which *the very Jews applied to themselves*. Descending directly from Sarah, they had a full right to it. But it is very surprising, that we meet with them using it only once. It probably occurs, however, in other passages of topical or of national history. And the very name of Gaul for a Briton, however conspicuous on the page of our Saxon history, and in the appellatives of particular places within our island,

^u The History of the Britons asserted, p. 77. edit. 2d. and Sax. Chron. p. 72.

was first pointed out by myself. I wish therefore to point out this also. The Jews were formerly very numerous in Cornwall; attracted by the lucrative commerce of tin, and engaged in managing the mines of it. In the windows of the church of St. Neot there, says an author, “are several pictures
 “relating to some particular traditions of the Jews,
 “which are *exactly* delivered in a *Cornish* book, now
 “in the public library at Oxford, Archiv. B. 31:
 “it is probable, *they had these traditions immedi-*
 “*ately from the Jews themselves*, who were here in
 “great numbers about the tin^x,” This is in the
 east

^x Gibson in his Camden, c. 19. edit. 3d. But, as a late author says, “none of these windows have any other relation to the Jews, than as they contain a portion of the Scripture history of the Old Testament;—and require no other explication, than the Latin inscription still remaining under each compartment.—The windows
 “—are *seventeen* in number. *Two* contain the Old Testament history, from the creation to the death of Noah, in different compartments; with an inscription under each, explaining its subject. *Thirteen* either have, or plainly have had, full-length figures of saints. *Two* contain the acts of St. George and of St. Neot” (From *some account of the church and windows of St. Neot’s in Cornwall, London, printed by H. and E. Ledger. Maze-pond. Southwark, 1786*; and drawn up for private inspection only, by an ingenious and judicious clergyman in the neighbourhood). According to this representation then, the windows are not charged with any tale of Jewish traditions at all. And the express reference to “a Cornish book, now in the Publick Library at Oxford,” and so specifically pointed out as “Archiv. B. 31” there, for these “particular traditions” being “*exactly* delivered” in it; forms an authority merely calculated to deceive. On examination of the Cornish Book,
 the

east of the county. In the west we have an evidence still more remarkable. We have a *town* denominated

the reference to it is found to be a most unaccountable mistake, "Archiv. B. 31" is indeed a Cornish work, yet is only an *Ordinale* or Scriptural interlude, which exhibits the creation of the world, and the history of it to the deluge; and was written by "William "Jordan" of Helston, so late as "the xii of August A. D. 1611." To this sacred Drama of Cornwall, which was written in order to be acted in one of those amphitheatres, that still remain under the name of *Rounds*; are many notes and directions, in the prevalence of a new and encroaching language at the time, set down in *English*. Thus does it begin;

"The creation of the world, the first daie of playe—;

"The Father "in Heaven.	Ego sum Alpha et Omega. Heb. allathe na dowethva.	} Pur wyz me eo.	{ The Father must be in a cloude, and when he speaketh of Heaven, let theys open."
----------------------------	--	---------------------	---

How this was to be done with the poor machinery of a Cornish Round, I do not understand. Perhaps it would puzzle our London theaters, in all their amplitude of expedients, to do it. It was done however, we may be very sure, with no great dexterity of manner. But there are some notes relating to the death of Adam, that are particularly worthy our notice. "Death" appears to Adam, "smyt-
"ith hem with hes spear, and he falleth upon a bed;" he makes a speech, "Devyls" come, but back "they go to Hell with great
"noyes;" then "an Angell conveyeth Adams soole to lymbo," and "lett Adam be buried in a fayre tombe with some churche songs
"at his buryall;" next "an Angell goeth to the tree of lyfe, and
"breaketh an apple, and taketh iii coores," pips or seeds, "and
"giveth yt. to Seyth;" afterwards "Seyth goes to his father with the
"coores and giveth yt. hem," and, adds a note, "the 3 kernells put
"in his mouthe and nostrells." All this presents us with some idea, of those extraordinary Dramas of our British ancestors, which the Cornish called *Guary-meers* or Great Plays, and *Guare-mirkl* or Miracle Plays. But all shows much more the wildness of Bishop
Gibson's

nominated expressly from the Jews, MARAZION and MARKET-JEW; *Marghas-Jewe* being in its character

Gibson's reference to this work, for any account of the windows at St. Neot's, and of "particular traditions of the Jews" delineated on them. This work is merely a play, founded on realities and embellished with fictions. And the Bishop must have been strangely imposed upon, in his reference.

Yet he is perfectly right in his assertion, and perfectly just in his language, concerning the *windows* themselves. On a closer inspection of these by the judicious and ingenious gentleman above, there appear in the eastern window of the south ayle, which is the most perfect of any in its preservation, and the most rich in its colouring; three lights pointed at the top, ornamented with tracery, and containing each three ranges, with five histories in each range. In the first history is God represented, planning the work of the creation, just going to give our world its magnitude and its form, and, what is singularly curious, furnished exactly as Milton describes him, with a pair of compasses.

. In his hand
He took THE GOLDEN COMPASSES, prepared
In God's eternal store, to circumscribe
This universe and all created things:
One foot he center'd, and the other turn'd
Round through the vast profundity obscure,
And said, Thus far extend, thus far, thy bounds,
This be thy just circumference, O World.

But whence did Milton derive an idea, so judicious in itself, and so poetically apposite for bodying forth the operations of a spiritual Being upon the universe of matter? "The thought of the golden compasses," says Addison, "is conceived altogether in Homer's spirit;" and "the golden compasses" themselves "appear a very natural instrument, in the hand of him whom Plato somewhere calls the Divine Geometrician." Yet Milton drew not the imagination, from either Plato, Homer, or himself. He adopted it from Solomon, who says expressly of God and the chaos at the creation,

ter of the 37th of Elizabeth described, as a trading town of great note before it was taken and destroyed by

tion, "He set a *compass* upon the face of the *depth*" (Prov. viii. 27). And the coincidence of the Cornish window with Milton, *that* delineating in general what *this* describes in particular; serves happily to confirm the derivation of the idea, from one common source of intelligence to the painter and the poet, the fountain of Jewish traditions. Then come twelve histories purely Scriptural. But the thirteenth has this inscription, "Hic Lamech sagittat Cayn;" and the fourteenth this, "Hic Seth ponit tria ova sub linguâ Adæ." Both these, consequently, are painted from the stores of Jewish tradition. The tradition concerning Lamech's killing Cain, as I find from the private information of a Jew, is still believed among the Jews; and is traceable in Ant. Un. Hist. i. 159, up to St. Jerome for Lamech's killing him with a *stone*, and up to Rabbi Gedaliah for his killing him (as *here*) with an *arrow*. But of Seth and the eggs I can find no trace. Only there is a story in Ant. Un. Hist. i. 167, very similar to this; which has been fathered upon some *Jews*, by Cornelius a Lapide citing Pinedo, and which is actually repeated with some little variation, in the Cornish Interlude above; that Seth, at the command of an Angel, put into Adam's mouth when he was dead, a seed of the Tree of *Knowledge*, or (as the Interlude more properly says) some seeds of the Tree of *Life*. But, what comes closer to the painting, I find it is a custom still among the Jews, for the nearest relation to the deceased, as Seth was to Adam, to live upon *eggs* for the thirty days of mourning; for the deceased himself to have one *egg*, one slice of bread, and a basin of water, placed near him and upon one side of his head, in the room where he is laid out during the short time previous to the funeral; and for all persons, perhaps derivatively from these customs, perhaps (as the Jews themselves think) from some original combination of ideas, to consider *eggs* as an emblem of mortality. And, just so, does Seth in the window put *three* eggs, into the mouth and under the tongue of the deceased Adam; as the same person in the Interlude, with a more elevated pitch of thought, puts *three* seeds of the Tree of *Life*, one into

by the traitors of Edward the 6th; *Markeſion* or *Markaſion*, as denominated in the Endowment of the Vicarage of St. Hilary, A. D. 1261, and in the Biſhop's approbation of it, A. D. 1313, being evidently Marghas-Sion; and both appellations being apparently derived to the Corniſh, from the relation of its inhabitants to the *Sion* of Jeruſalem, and from the Jews who had eſtabliſhed a *Marghas*, *Marbas*, or *Market*, in it. There is accordingly a tradition in the town, that there was a market of the Jews formerly there, and that it was held on the weſtern ſtrand of the ſea. Under ſuch a ſettlement

into the mouth, and one into each noſtril, as an equal emblem of *im-mortality*.

Thus are there ſtill “in the windows” of St. Neot's church, whatever Mr. Gough has finally ſaid to the contrary, in his late edition of Camden's *Britannia*; and precisely, as Biſhop Giſſon had written before; “*ſeveral* pictures relating to *ſome* particular traditions “among the Jews.” Mr. Gough was miſled by the pamphlet above, to which he was a ſubſcriber. The windows actually contain *traditional* and *Jewiſh* hiſtories, as well as Scriptural. Even the Biſhop's reference to the Corniſh Interlude, as *explanatory* of the *Jewiſh traditions* in the windows, is ſo far juſt; that the windows and the Interlude run parallel each with the other, in general deſign and in particular execution; in the general derivation of the hiſtory from Scripture, and in the particular intermixture of Jewiſh traditions with it. They are even *very ſimilar*, in one of the traditions. And ſo the painting and the play unite together at laſt, to ſhow the intimate acquaintance of the Corniſh, with the popular traditions of the Jews concerning their Scriptural narratives; and to prove the readineſs which the Corniſh had imbibed from the Jews, for mingling theſe traditions with the narratives themſelves, inſerting them equally in the biography of the Patriarchs, and placing them in the ſame rank of reality with the very incidents of Scripture.

of

of Jews in Cornwall; when they had raised themselves a humble Sion, on the brink of the Western Ocean; and when the natives had become so far connected with them, as to listen to their *traditions*, to record them in *writings*, to exhibit them in *paintings*, and even to *mix* them with the facts of Scripture itself; we cannot wonder at this Jewish appellation of *Saracens* from the Jews, which had gone on like a subterraneous current for ages, breaking out so strongly as it does in Britain. That the Jews were once the monopolists of the tin of Cornwall, there is the strongest tradition in the west of the county. When the present tanners also discover the remains of an old smelting-place for tin, they always denominate it a *Jews House*. Old blocks of tin, too, are occasionally found of a peculiar configuration; and are constantly called *Jews Pieces*. And the stream-works of tin, that have been formerly deserted by the labourers, are now stiled in English Jews Works, and were used to be stiled in Cornish "Attal SARASIN," or "the leavings of the SARACENS^y." The Jews therefore denominated themselves, and were denominated by the Britons of Cornwall, SARACENS, as

^y From the information of my very obliging acquaintance Mr. Hitchings, Vicar of St. Hilary, near Marazion, and composer of the Nautical Almanack for the Board of Longitude; Borlase's Natural History, p. 163—164 and 190; Camden, c. 4. Gibson, &c. All this proves the Jews to have been the managers of the mines, not merely (as is said by Borlase and others) for the reign of John, but for a very long period.

the genuine progeny of Sarah. The same name, no doubt, carried the same reference with it, as borne by the genuine, and as usurped by the spurious, offspring of Abraham. And all the violent distortions of it, to which literature has had recourse, are here superseded by an explanation, which is so obvious, that it has long occurred; so easy, that it needs no recommendation; and yet for these very reasons rejected by those, who love to bewilder themselves in the mazes of literature.

Among these Saracens of Arabia, under this general darkness of ignorance, and amidst this national night of polytheism, did that grand impostor arise, who has made the name of MAHOMET to be nearly consonant to that of ANTICHRIST, in the ears of every true Christian; and who has become the father of a new and numerous race of *Arians*, in the earth. *His* Scripture is one grand system of Arianism. And like a savage Prince of antient Germany, that was proudly setting his naked foot in a dream, upon the collared neck of a Roman Emperor; this Illiterate Barbarian steps in fancy upon the back of our Saviour, and vaults into our Saviour's throne in imagination.

2.—The genius of the man is stamped in a bold relief, upon the face of his religion. With a mind naturally vigorous in itself; and impelled into a full exertion of all its vigour, by the strongest spurs which

which can harrow up the sides of human activity; he came forward upon the stage of Arabia, to gratify his avarice for fame, and to indulge his ambition for power. He became the ignorant apostle of an ignorant nation. And he betrayed his ignorance in a form, so very palpable and gross, upon his very Koran; as seems to be intended for the mint-mark of God himself, in order to show the falsity of his inspiration to every eye.

Even *beneath his pretended inspirations*, he was still so astonishingly ignorant; as not to know the difference between Mary the mother of our Lord, and—Miriam the sister of Aaron. In the third chapter of his Koran, he speaks of the Virgin Mary as the daughter of *Amran*. The title prefixed to the chapter, is *Surato'l Amran*, or the chapter of *Amran*^z. “God,” says the chapter, “hath surely
“chosen Adam, and Noah, and the family of Abraham, and the family of *Amran*, above the rest of
“the world—: remember when the wife of *Amran*
“said,—Lord, verily I have brought forth a female—, I have called her *Mary*—; and *Zacharias*
“took care of the child—: and—the angels said,
“O *Mary*, verily God sendeth thee good tidings,
“that thou shalt bear the WORD proceeding from
“himself, his name shall be Christ Jesus, the Son

^z Prideaux's Letter to the Deists, bound up with his Life of Mahomet, p. 83.

“ of Mary ^a.” Here Mary, the mother of our Saviour, is explicitly declared to be the daughter of *Amran*. She is thus confounded with Miriam, the sister of Moses and the real daughter of Amran. This appeared so evident to Andrew Du Ryer, that French translator of the Koran, from whom we formerly borrowed our only copy of it in English; that he presumed to correct the text in order to conceal the blunder, and silently substituted *Joachim* for *Amran* through the whole chapter. This was knavish, but it was prudent. Nor had the English reader any information of the fraud put upon him, till Dr. Prideaux exposed it properly to the nation ^b. And the late Mr. Sale, our English translator of the Koran from the Arabick, who inherited the very spirit of the French one, did all that could be done after such a detection, and attempted to divert what could be no longer concealed. This, he says, is “ such an intolerable anachronism, if it were

^a Sale’s Koran, p. 38, 39, 40. Only I have changed his *Imran* into *Amran*, as it ought to be. What prevented it from being so in his translation, is pretty obvious; as the *Ibrahim* of the original is every where *Abraham* in the version. But he chose to depart from himself and from propriety here, in order to disguise the name of Amran the better; and yet to preserve some appearances of fairness, by saying once in a note, as he says in p. 38, “ Imran or “ Amran.”

^b Prideaux, p. 83. So also in Sale’s Koran, ch. lxxv. p. 458, God speaks of “ Mary the daughter of Amran, who preserved her “ chastity, and into whose womb we breathed of our spirit” &c.

“certain,” as “is sufficient *of itself* to destroy the
“pretended authority of this book^c.” And some
Mahometan commentators on the Koran, as we find
from him, have accordingly endeavoured to hide
the shame of their prophet, behind a screen of their
own erection. *Amran*, they pretend, is the *Maho-*
metan name for the *Joachim* of the Christians^d, and the
real father of the Virgin Mary; and is only by a casual
coincidence, the same with that of the father of Mi-

* P. 38. There was in Mr. Sale a strange confusedness of under-
standing, which will account for his attachment to Mahometanism.
Of this I shall give one instance here. “The hour of judgment ap-
“proacheth,” says the Koran, ch. liv. p. 428, “and the moon
“hath been split in sunder.” “Some imagine,” as Mr. Sale re-
marks, “the words refer to a famous miracle supposed to have been
“performed by Mohammed; for it is said that—the moon appeared
“cloven in two—. Others think the preter tense is here used in the
“prophetic stile, for the future; and that the passage should be
“rendered, The moon *shall be* split in sunder; for this, they say,
“is to happen at the resurrection. The FORMER opinion is sup-
“ported by reading, according to some copies, wakad inshakka 'lka-
“maro, i. e. since the moon *bath already been* split in sunder: the
“splitting of the moon being reckoned by some, to be one of the pre-
“vious signs of the last day;” which is evidently in favour of the
LATTER opinion. Mr. Sale has thus produced an argument in fa-
vour of the moon *having been* split, which tends to prove it had *not*
been split, but *is to be* split hereafter. And can we wish for a more
clear evidence of that inverted kind of Judgment, which reasons in a
retrograde course, and counteracts its own purposes? After such an
evidence, we shall have no need to wonder at some instances of Mr.
Sale's conduct hereafter.

^d See Joachim so early as Epiphanius, Hær. lxxviii. 17.
p. 1049.

riam

riam and of Aaron^e. Such a coincidence as this, however, can never be admitted by a critical mind; unless there is positive evidence adduced, for its reality. But neither these commentators, nor their European friend, pretend to adduce any. *Those* perhaps are not in the habit of arguing; but he is. Yet even he adduces none. And so weak is the reliance of both upon their own allegation, that he tells us “they suppose” in opposition to it, *the sister of Aaron* “to be meant in this place,” in the clause concerning the *family* of Amran; “or rather *both* “of them,” *both* Miriam *and* the Virgin Mary, “to be meant^f.” So compleatly do they betray their cause, in attempting to defend it! They scarcely leave us any occasion of observing, that the Virgin Mary is stiled expressly in *another* part of the Koran, not merely “the daughter of Amran,” but even “the sister of Aaron^g.” This goes with an amazing flash of conviction, to every mind. It carries at once the flame and the bolt of lightening with it. *Amran*, we see decisively, was made the father of the Virgin Mary, *because* he was the actual father

• Sale’s Koran, p. 38. These, and the commentators hereafter, all knew enough of chronology, to see there were many hundreds of years intervening, between the real Amran and his suborned representative. “The commentators accordingly fail not to tell us,” says Mr. Sale, p. 38, “that there had passed about one thousand “eight hundred years” between them. They for *that* reason invented these devices.

^f Koran, p. 38.

^g Koran, p. 39 and 251.

of Miriam, the sister of Aaron. Yet, not to be wanting to their prophet in this blasting hour of distress, they have ventured to stretch forth their hand again, and receive the lightening upon it. But they have stretched it forth, only to be blasted themselves with their prophet. They alledge *another* coincidence of casualties, and form a *second* world of combining atoms. The Virgin Mary, they pretend, had not only a *father* called *Amran*, exactly as Miriam had; but had also, like her, a *brother* of the name of *Aaron*^h. Nothing is too bold to be alledged by those, who can think such a fardle of unconnected impertinences, such a string of eternal repetitions, and such a mass of legendary anecdotes, to be the oracles of God. Nor can we hesitate a moment to believe, that had the Virgin Mary been additionally denominated “the sister of Moses,” even if such an addition *could* have made the anachronism, more notorious than it is at present; commentators, European or Arabian, with a Mahometan audacity, would instantly have created for her a brother of the name of Moses. And, in a perfect congruity of assurance with this belief, “some Mahometan writers have imagined,” says Mr. Sale himself without any reprobation, “that “*the same individual* Mary, THE SISTER OF MOSES, “*was miraculously preserved alive from his time till*

^h Koran, p. 251.

“ *that of Jesus Christ*, purposely to become the MOTHER of the LATTER ⁱ.” With such an unintended but real perfidy, continuing *the original blunder of Mahomet in themselves*, and only endeavouring, by a poor fraud of supposition, to reconcile it with their present knowledge; do these native and auxiliary advocates for the Koran, again surrender it up to the trampling feet of hostility, and to the insulting voice of victory ^k!

Mahomet was confounded in his extreme ignorance, at the very moment when he pretended to

ⁱ Koran, p. 39.

^k Mr. Sale, in his friendship for the Koran, has said, “ such a “ mistake ” as I have here detected in the plainest manner, “ is inconsistent with a number of—places in the Koran; whereby it manifestly appears, that Mohammed well knew and asserted, that Moses “ preceded Jesus several ages ” (p. 38). But this is only adding a contradiction to a blunder. Mahomet was originally so ignorant, as to make Miriam and the Virgin Mary the same persons. He was afterwards taught to know, that Moses the brother of Miriam was some ages prior to Jesus the Son of Mary. But he had not recollection or attention enough, to look back to what he had previously written, and to correct it by this. Some of his commentators, as we have just seen, had adopted the original blunder from him, had found its inconsistency afterwards with the truths of history, yet retained both in their belief, and only fabricated a ridiculous supposition to reconcile them. Mahomet went so far as to retain both, but either was not sensible of the contradiction between them, or would not take the trouble of reconciling them. From the imposture of pretending to revelations, he probably became a dupe at times to his own impositions, fancied he had revelations, and acted in a lazy confidence on the fancy. He certainly became very negligent, in framing the several parts of his Koran. And I shall soon show a variety of contradictions in it.

be illuminated from heaven; by the name of the Virgin Mary, and the name of the sister of Aaron, being written in Arabick exactly after the same manner, *Miriam*¹. He had no light of chronology, to disclose the personal difference to him, amidst the perplexing sameness of appellations. He very naturally, therefore, *thought* the same names to indicate the same persons. The Alexander of the Roman empire, became the military hero of Macedonia; in the *opinion* of the historically blind. Then the presumption of the prophet, lent a boldness to the blind man. He *mentioned* the Virgin Mary expressly, as “the daughter of Amran.” He was too confident, to suspect his own absurdity. He went on in the hardness of pretended illumination and of real blindness, to mention her again as “the sister of Aaron.” He has thus fixed such a stigma of forgery upon his oracles, as lies level to the understandings of all mankind. An anachronism like this, strikes more strongly upon the minds and spirits of the un-reasoning multitude; than all the doctrinal arguments in the world. For that reason, have the friends of Mohametanism run up

¹ This name “the Orientals always write Maryam or Miriam” (Sale’s Discourse, p. 54. a note). The name is written the same in Greek too; the Virgin Mary being called *Mariam* in Mat. i. 20, xiii. 55, and in Luke i. 27, 30, 34, 38, 39, 46, 56, ii. 5, 16, 19, 34. And Miriam herself is called *Mariam*, *Μαριαμμή*, in Josephus Ant. Jud. ii. ix. 4. p. 75; and *Mary*, in St. Ambrose and others (Pearson on the Creed, p. 169).

hastily,

hastily, to the tottering edifice of Gothick absurdity; endeavoured to rear their equally Gothick buttresses, in order to support it; and laboured to prop up a fabrick of falsehoods, by an accession of fictions. But their props have only served, to show the tottering state of the edifice the more. And this broad brand of imposture, is only made by the attempts for preventing its application; to be more decisively applied, and more deeply indented, upon the clumsy forehead of Mahometanism. Mahomet, the prophet of God, and the superior of our Saviour, appears before all the world; annihilating no less than fifteen hundred years, in the fathomless abyss of his own ignorance.

But this is not the only instance of the kind, in the self-convicted Mahomet. Imposture may pretend to inspiration, but only real inspiration can illuminate ignorance. It was only the spirit of God, that brooded upon the dark face of the chaos. And we have another blunder of chronology, in Mahomet's Koran; that has never been noticed like the former, and yet is more glaring (I think) than it. God is said "to show" something to "*Pharaoh*, and *Haman*, and their forces;" to pronounce "*Pharaoh*, and *Haman*, and their forces,—*sinners*;" and to make *Pharaoh* thus address *Haman*, "Wherefore do thou, O *Haman*, burn me clay into bricks, and build me a high tower, that I may ascend to the God of *Moses*, for I verily believe him

“to be a liar^m.” This is plainly an astonishing jumble of *three* points of history into *one*. The minister of Ahasuerus at the captivity, is made by a vault of dexterity over a line of nearly nine centuries, minister to Pharaoh at the Exodus; and both he and Pharaoh are engaged in doing, what was done near seventeen centuries before the captivity,—in building the Tower of Babel. And the Mahometan commentators, with an unhappiness very similar to what we have seen before, and proving them to be only *less* ignorant than their master; say “that *Haman*, having prepared *bricks* and *other materials*, employed no less than *fifty thousand men*, “beside labourers, in the building; which they “carried to *so immense a height*, that the workmen “*could no longer stand upon it*; that Pharaoh” could though the workmen could not, and, “ascending “this tower, *threw a javelin towards heaven*” from it, though the workmen could not stand upon it, “which fell back again” upon the tower (I suppose) “stained with blood: whereupon he impiously “boasted, that he had killed the God of Moses; “but at sunset God sent the angel Gabriel, who with “one stroke of his wing *demolished the Tower*; a “part whereof, falling on the king’s army, *destroyed* “*a million of men*.” This wild and legendary tale

^m Ch. xxviii. p. 320. See also ch. xl. p. 385.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 321. See also in p. 131 a note of Mr. Sale’s own, referring to all this as true.

of the Koran, let us compare with the intimations in some antient authors; and we shall then see it referring directly to the Tower of Babel. A very antient historian of Assyria, Abydenus, says concerning the latter; that “the men erected a fortrefs of
“ towers *fit to ascend to the sun, and were now near*
“ *heaven;*” and that “the winds, assisting the Gods,
“ *threw down the structure on their heads*.” This is exactly similar to the Koran, in those four grand particulars; the height of the tower, the design of erecting it, the overthrow of it by God, and the fall of it on the heads of the builders. An historical Sibyl of some antiquity too, speaks exactly in the same manner concerning the same tower; saying
“ they builded a very lofty tower, as *going to mount*
“ *up into Heaven by it;*” and adding that “the Gods
“ *sent winds, and overturned the tower*.” And Eupolemus subjoins, that “the tower” of Babel
“ *fell down* under the operation of God.” These evidences are sufficient to show the sameness. But let us come nearer to the native country, of this Bible of the Saracens; and we shall see the sameness

ο Prepar. Evang. p. 243. Πυργων τωσιν ηλιθιατον αειρειν, ινα τυν βαβυλων εσιν· ηδη τε ασσυν ειναι τε θραν· και της ανεμης, Θεοισι βω-
θεονιας, αναλρεψαι περι αυλοισι το μηχανημα.

p Ibid. p. 244. Πυργον οικοδομησαν τινες υψηλοτατον, ως επι του θρανου αναδησομενοι δι’ αυτε· οι δε Θεοι, ανεμης επιπεμφαντες, ανελρεψαν τον πυργον.

q Ibid. p. 245. Πολιν βαβυλωνα πρωτον μεν κτισθηναι—, οικοδομειν δε τον ισορυμενον πυργον· πεσοντος δε τελε υπο της τε θεου ενεργειας, κ. γ. λ.

still

still plainer. An author of *their own* informs us, that “*Nimrod* built this tower, *that he might ascend* “*to Heaven to see Abraham’s God*, who had delivered “him from the fiery furnace, into which that tyrant “had cast him: they worked at this building three “years; and, when *Nimrod had got on the top of it*, “he wondered to see the Heaven as far from him “as before; but his astonishment increased, when “this tower, and another which he had built for “the same purpose, were successively *overthrown*.” Even the very *commentators on the Koran* in another place, speak of “the tower which *Nimrod*—built “in Babel, and carried *to an immense height* (five “thousand cubits, say some), foolishly purposing “thereby *to ascend to Heaven*, and *wage war with the* “*inhabitants of that place*; but God frustrated his attempt, utterly *overthrowing* the tower by a violent “wind and earthquake^r.” Here we have almost all

^r Ant. Un. Hist. i. 278, and Sale’s Koran, p. 216, note. See also Koran, p. 269, for *Nimrod* and *Abraham*. So *Abulfuragius* says, that the tower of *Nimrod* was “*overthrown* by tempestuous winds” (Ant. Un. Hist. i. 283). These evidences for the *overthrow* of the Tower of Babel, are the more remarkable; as the only authentic history of the erection, says merely the men “left off to build the “city” (Gen. xi. 8); and ascribes the defeat of their project, not to any overthrow of the tower, but to a very different cause, a miraculous confusion of their language. Yet even *Tertullian* in the west, has the same account in a passage, that also marks the Divinity of our Saviour: “*Filius itaque est qui ab initio judicavit, turrim “superbissimam elidens, linguasque dispertiens*” (Adv. Praxeam, c. xvi. p. 509). And this serves to show the derivation of the circumstance in all, from *traditional history*.

the

the omitted strokes of similarity in the preceding intimations, supplied at once by the hand of *Arabians* themselves. And the tower of the Koran appears indubitably at the close, to be the very Tower of Babel itself, beheld through the disguising mirror of popular romances and Mahometan fictions united; and built in the peculiar and double blunder of Mahometan ignorance, by the command of Moses's Pharaoh, and under the direction of Ahasuerus's Haman.

I dwell the longer upon these proofs of Mahomet's ignorance, because they carry such an energy of detection with them; have been endeavoured to be disingenuously softened away by Mr. Sale, in one of the instances; and have not been noticed, by the elegant, the refined, and the judicious Mr. White, in either. Mr. White stations himself in a higher element of the Mahometan region, and takes a more comprehensive, and a kind of bird's-eye, view of the Mahometan system beneath him. I come down to the system itself, range over it with a human eye, and set my foot upon some mountainous deformities in it. In this mode of acting, let me add one observation more, upon the general tenour of the Koran. There is a strange variety of *contradictions* in it. The whole forms merely a chaos of contending elements. Of this I shall notice one instance, because I know not that it has been noticed before, and because it is a very signal one. "Believe in
" God,"

“ God,” says Mahomet, “ and his apostle the illiterate prophet,—and follow *him* that ye may be “ *rightly directed*; of *the people of Moses* there is a “ *party, who direct others with truth.*” Here *some* of the Jews are declared, to be friends and favourers of Mahometanism. But he, who may as justly be called “ the contradictory prophet” as the illiterate one, in another place supercedes his own assertion thus. “ O true believers,” says Mahomet again, “ take not the *Jews* or *Christians* for your “ friends; they are friends the one to the other; but “ who so among you taketh them for his friends, he “ is surely *one of them*; verily God directeth not *un- “ just people.*” “ Thou shalt surely find,” adds Mahomet in the *very same* chapter, “ the most violent “ of all men in enmity against the true believers, to “ be the *Jews* and the Idolaters; and thou shalt “ surely find those among them, to be the most inclinable to *entertain friendship* for the true believers, who say we are *Christians*: this cometh to “ *pass, because* there are *priests* and *monks* among “ them, and because *they* are not *elated with pride.*” “ How are they infatuated?” exclaims Mahomet in a subsequent chapter against the *Christians*; “ they “ take their *priests* and their *monks*, for *their lords* be- “ *sides God*;—verily many of the *priests* and *monks* “ devour the substance of men in vanity, and ob- “ *struct the way of God.*” And, as Mahomet similarly says in a fifth passage, “ O ye who have re- “ ceived

“ceived the Scripture, come to a just determination between us and you, that we *worship* not any except God, and that *the one of us take not the other for lords beside God*.” Thus those Jews, some of whom were embracing Mahometanism, and inducing others to embrace it, are *all* of them the “most violent of—men in enmity” against it. Thus also those Christians, who are proscribed as equally enemies to Mahometanism with the Jews, in one passage; are noticed as peculiar friends to it, in another. Those priests and monks too, who are said to make them friends, are declared to prevent them from being so. And those, who are humbly leading them to own the unity of God with Mahomet, are proudly setting themselves up for lords together with God; and are proudly attracting the worship of the Christians, to themselves conjointly with God. Perhaps confusion itself can hardly furnish out in all its wide wilderness, a contradiction more massy and substantial than this. Many more of the same nature might be specified. But I need not dwell upon any more, because they are acknowledged in general by the Mahometans themselves. Too plain to be denied, and too gross to be refined away, they stand equally with the chronological blunders before, as an illumination on the face of the False Prophet,

• Sale’s Koran, ch. vii. p. 134, ch. v. p. 89 and 93, ch. ix. p. 153, and ch. iii. p. 44.

apparent to every eye^t. The Mahometans, however, have very naturally done all that could be done, to obscure and hide the present illumination. They have had recourse, to the only expedient left them for the purpose. They suppose a principle of abrogation, to be at work in the Koran itself, to be exercising its hostility against *parts*, and so to be virtually dissolving the authority of the *whole*. And the only check which they have upon such a principle, and the only barrier which they raise to its ravages, is a *chronological* one. The earlier passages are abrogated by the later. "For they say," as Mr. Sale himself informs us, "that God in the Koran commanded *several* things, which were for good reasons *afterwards* revoked and abrogated^u."

One of these instances ought to be particularly recited, in order to set the character of this extraordinary man, in its true light. He had expressly forbidden fornication, by the mouth of God. "The whore and the whoremonger," God says, "shall ye scourge with an hundred stripes; and let not compassion towards them prevent you from executing the judgment of God, if ye believe in

^t The mark by which Mahomet was known, say the Mahometans, "was the prophetick light which shone on his face" (Prideaux p. 9).

^u Sale's Discourse, p. 66.

“ God and the last day^x.” But an unlucky accident interposed afterwards, to annul the positive command, and to indulge the prophet in a breach of the prohibition. A handsome girl raised a flame in the heart of the libidinous Mahomet, that dissolved at once the divinity of his revelations, and unlaced the reputation of the prophet. He committed the prohibited act with her. He thus fell, as many have fallen before him. But his fall was distinguished, by a pre-eminence of iniquity above them all. One of his wives heard of it, and very properly reproached him with it. He was now, by his own revelation, to be “ scourged with a hundred stripes;” and his followers were to “ let no compassion prevent them from executing this judgment of God, “ *if they believed in God and the last day.*” But, in hopes of stifling the discovery made of his shame by her, he solemnly promised her with an *oath*, to have no future communication with the woman. She however exposing the sunken prophet to some of his other wives, he found himself so openly detected, that he became most profligately resolute. Awed by no principles of religion within, and controuled by no fears of shame without, he threw off all reserves of modesty, broke through all restraints of his oath, and abandoned himself to an open dissoluteness with her, for a whole month. By this time the *lecher*

^x Sale's Koran, chap. xxiv. p. 287.

was gratified, and the *prophet* had power to act. He saw the deed which he had done, to be expressly contradictory to the prohibition of God, and to bear upon it the superadded pollution of perjury itself. He began probably to tremble for the consequences. How then did he attempt to prevent them? He left not the lasciviousness to plead *its* excuse in *his* weakness, by adverting only to the perjury. This pressed, no doubt, with peculiar force upon his character. But the other pressed also. Under the load of guilt from both, any but an impostor of the first magnitude for confidence and courage, must have sunk discredited for ever. But his confidence rose with his guilt, and his courage mounted directly into audacity. And he introduced God in a new chapter of the Koran, *licensing* him to commit fornication with Mary, and, what is still more, *authorizing* him to violate his oath^y. “O prophet,” *now* cries his varying God, “why *holdest thou that to be prohibited* which God *hath* ALLOWED THEE,” though God had actually prohibited it before, “*seeking to please thy wives ;* “since God is inclined to *forgive and be merciful?*” These last words imply it still to be prohibited, though he has just said that God hath allowed it to him. “God hath allowed you *the dissolution of your* “*oaths* ; and God is your master, and he is know-

^y Mod. Un. Hist. i. 159—160.

“ing and wife².” Thus does the God of Mahomet, with some confusion of ideas and some contradictoriness of expressions, abrogate his own recent prohibition of fornication, and cancel his own eternal interdict against perjury. The abrogation, in the *terms* of it, is confined to Mahomet. But, as it is not expressly restrained to him; and as no reason is assigned for the abrogation to *him*, which does not equally extend to all; the abrogation in its *consequence* becomes universal, and a general fornication is permitted by the God of Mahomet; by that very God too, who had been faithful enough to himself and to holiness, to forbid it a little before, but who recollected himself afterward, then untied all the bands of human purity, and so left the exorbitance of human lust to rove at full liberty over the world. Such a Cyprian Deity, has the hand of Mahomet set up in heaven! But that hand has done still worse, in the present passage. His God has “allowed” “you the dissolution of your oaths.” The very *terms* here are general. An universal perjury is sanctioned by the Koran. And the *Jupiter* of the Mahometans expressly “allows” them, to violate every oath, and to range from perjury to perjury, without check and without limit. Mahomet has thus done the worst that a fiend from hell could do, to break down all the fences of modesty, to tear up

² Sale's Koran, ch. lxvi. p. 455.

all the barriers of society, and to turn out the wild beast man, loose upon the common of nature^a.

So

^a Prideaux in p. 147, has, by some strange mistake, added to the passage in Koran, chap. lxvi. this clause, "God hath granted unto you to lie with your maid-servants." These words, says Sale, "are not to be found here or elsewhere in the Koran, and contain an allowance of *what is expressly forbidden therein*," chap. xxiv. p. 287" (p. 456). The words are certainly not in our copies at present. But the "allowance of what is expressly forbidden" before, is just the same without them as with them. "Why holdest thou that to be prohibited," says God *here* concerning what he had *there* prohibited himself, and what he *now* says "God hath allowed thee?" The preceding prohibition, therefore, is annulled at present. Nor is it annulled to Mahomet alone. The prohibition was general, the annulling is not expressly particular. The annulling indeed seems as general, as the prohibition. And what is now allowed to Mahomet, was certainly prohibited to him before. There is no exception to Mahomet in the prohibition. Nor does what Mr. Sale says in p. 456, avail a straw. Prideaux "proceeds to tell us," he says, "that in this chapter Mohammed brings in God allowing him and all his moslems, to lie with their maids when they will, notwithstanding their wives; whereas the words relate to the prophet only, who *wanted not any new permission* for that purpose, because *it was a privilege already granted him* (chap. xxxii. p. 348—349), though to none else." But, to the honour of Mahomet be it spoken, he had no such privilege of fornication. He had only the privilege of—marrying as many wives as he pleased. "O prophet," says God in the pages referred to, "we have allowed thee thy *wives* unto whom thou hast given their dower, and also the *slaves* which thy right hand possesseth, of the booty which God hath granted thee; *and* the daughters of thy uncle, *and* the daughters of thy aunts,—who have fled with thee from Mecca, *and* any other believing woman, if she give herself unto the prophet; *in case the prophet desireth to take her to wife*. This is a peculiar privilege granted unto thee, above the rest of
" the

So plainly was Mahomet himself the first, that introduced this principle of abrogation into the Koran! But his commentators have digested it into a kind of plan or system; a plan of disorder, and a system of confusion. "Passages abrogated," they say, "are distinguished into three kinds; the first,

"the true believers" (p. 348—349). Accordingly Mr. Sale himself remarks upon this passage; that "no moslem can legally marry above four wives, whether free-women or slaves; whereas Mohammed is, by the preceding passage, left at liberty to take as many [wives] as he pleases, though with some restrictions" (p. 349). And "it is related of Omm Hâni, the daughter of Abu Taleb," he says in another note, "that she should say, The apostle of God courted me for his wife, but I excused myself to him, and he accepted of my excuse: afterwards this verse was revealed; but he was not thereby allowed to marry me, because I fled not with him" (p. 348). So inconsistent is Mr. Sale with himself, as in p. 456 to plead that part of the Koran for a sanctioned pre-eminence in fornication to Mahomet, which in p. 348—349, and at the place, he had shown to be merely an extended right of polygamy to him. In discourse, p. 137, inconsistent with himself in both these passages, he makes it to extend to polygamy and to fornication. The facts also, which I have related in the text, and which are equally related by Mr. Sale in p. 456—457, of Mahomet's secretly committing fornication with Mary; of his being discovered by one of his wives; of his being reproached by her; of his promising with an oath, never to do so again (see also p. 413); of her communicating the secret, to some of his other wives; of his plunging desperately, when thus detected, into an open course of fornication; and of his having final resort to a new revelation, in vindication of his impurity, and in absolution of his perjury: all show him to have been prohibited from fornication before. And, as the substance of what Prideaux has asserted, though not the form of it, stands fully justified; so the Mahometan doctrine of abrogation, is strikingly exposed by all.

“ where the *letter* and the *sense* are *both* abrogated;
“ the second, where the *letter* only is abrogated, but
“ the *sense* remains; and the third, where the *sense* is
“ abrogated, but the *letter* remains.” What infinite
uncertainty such a triple series of abrogations, must
necessarily make in *any* code of revelation; is ob-
vious to every intellect. No revelation could sub-
sist with them. As soon might the globe of the
earth, according to the Mahometan mythology, be
placed upon the body of an oxe, which is placed
upon a white stone, which is placed upon—nothing.

Yet let us notice an instance of each of the three.
Mahomet, according to tradition, gave his secretary
“ a verse” to be set down in the Koran. The se-
cretary set it down. But, looking in the Koran
next morning, he found the verse had vanished
from the page, and the place of it was all a blank.
He applied to Mahomet with the wonderful intel-
ligence. And Mahomet “ assured him, the verse
“ was revoked the same night.” The God of Ma-
homet, it seems, had slept after his first revelation
of it; and was now sober enough, to see the improp-
riety of what he had done the night before. There
was also, it is said, this precept originally in the
Koran: “ if a man and woman of reputation com-
“ mit adultery, ye shall stone them both; it is a
“ punishment ordained by God, for God is mighty
“ and wise.” This injunction, so proper in itself,
was

was extant in the Koran while Mahomet was alive; according to the tradition of Omar, who was afterwards Khaliff. He had seen it there. But, after the death of Mahomet, it was not to be found. How was this? When Mahomet had been guilty of adultery with Mary, it seems, he had secretly erased the punishment of stoning out of his Bible, as the pirate did the command against stealing, in tenderness to himself; and so left his followers to continue the practice, even when the injunction was privately withdrawn. And “of the last kind,” adds Mr. Sale, “are observed *several* verses in “*sixty-three* different chapters, to the number of “*two hundred and twenty-five*.” Yet the very man who introduced the doctrine of abrogation, in order to obviate the absurdity of his own contradictions; with a contradictoriness accumulated upon the head of all, and with an effrontery completely Mahometan, denies the existence of all contradictions in his Koran; and even challenges the authority of inspiration for it, on this very account. “Do “they not,” says this boldest of all bold falsifiers, “attentively consider the Koran? If it had been “from any besides God, they would certainly have “found therein many contradictions.” He was speaking to the blind; and *therefore* had the hardi-

^b Sale's Discourse, p. 64—65; and see p. 135, for the stoning.

^c Sale's Koran, chap. iv. p. 71.

ness to deny the existence of a Sun, that was shining out at noon-day upon him.

Of those contradictions however, that yet remain upon the page of asserted inspiration, because the inspirer forgot to expunge, when he resolved to revoke them; who shall ascertain what is revoked, and what is not? Who shall say what is posterior, and what is prior? The *order of position* will not determine this. A part of the *ninety-sixth* chapter is generally believed, to have been the *first* revealed; while some say, the *first* was the *beginning* of the *seventy-fourth*: and the *ninth* is equally agreed, to have been the chapter that was *last* revealed; though some think the ninth a part of the eighth, which was revealed many years before. “The *first five verses* of this chapter,” says Mr. Sale more circumstantially concerning the *ninety-sixth*, “are generally allowed to be the *first* passage of the Koran, which was revealed; though *some* give this honour to the *seventy-fourth* chapter, and *others* to the *first*, the *next* (they say) being the *sixty-eighth*.” “It seems,” Mr. Sale also informs us, “that the *verse* or *passage*, wherein such word occurs” as now gives title to the chapter, “was in point of *time* revealed and committed to writing, *before* the other verses of the *same* chapter,

^d Mod. Un. Hist. i. 3, and Sale's Koran, p. 148—149, 139, 471, and 496.

“which

“ which *precede* it in *order*; and the title being given
 “ to the chapter *before* it was *completed*, or the
 “ *passages* reduced to their *present* order, the verse,
 “ from which such title was taken, did not always
 “ happen to begin the chapter^e.” This is an
 amazing circumstance, in the Mahometan doctrine
 of abrogations. Not only the chapters are out of all
 historical order, but even the very verses of those
 chapters are so. How then shall chronology come
 in to say, which passage shall stand and which shall
 fall? Chronology has no power over such a scene
 of confusion. Her *fiat* can never be heard by this
 wild waste of chaos. She has no ground to stand
 upon herself, and none even to fix her golden com-
 passes upon. And the war of elements must con-
 tinue to be waged for ever. We may see this ex-
 emplified in a particular case. “ It shall not be
 “ lawful for thee,” says God to Mahomet, “ to
 “ take other women to wife hereafter,” besides the
 nine which he now had, and which he was allowed
 in a passage immediately preceding to have. But
 some Mahometan commentators, as Mr. Sale tells
 us, “ are of opinion, that this verse is *abrogated*, by
 “ the two *preceding* verses *or* one of them; and was
 “ revealed *before* them, though it be read *after*
 “ them^f.” The principle of abrogation therefore,
 which is to reconcile all the jarring parts of the Ko-

^e Sale’s Discourse, p. 57.

^f Sale’s Koran, p. 349.

ran, by removing the historically prior, and so leaving the historically posterior at peace; is *absolutely impossible to be reduced into practice*, in general. When there is no determined priority of time, for the injunction; there cannot be any possible posteriority, for the abrogation. The injunction may be the abrogation, and the abrogation may be the injunction. And the contradictions stand in full force with the blunders, to prove the Koran not an emanation from the wisdom of God, and not even an effusion from the wisdom of man; but a composition tinctured strongly with the folly of human ignorance, and impregnated sharply with the ferment of human iniquity!

I have dwelt the longer upon these points of Mahometanism, in order to introduce with greater propriety some remarks upon the Arianism of it, and to counteract the late efforts of Mr. Gibbon in its favour. He has endeavoured to tear away the rags from the malkin of Mahometanism, and to dress it up in a holiday suit of his own. But he has made himself the very MAHOMET of history, by the attempt: an *impostor* in facts, a *satyr* in lechery; wounding himself severely, with the very point of his own *contradictions*; and yet staggering eagerly forward, to put himself at the head of the *enemies of Christ*. Nor let the reader be surpris'd, at my speaking so strongly against a man, whom I was
once

once proud to call my friend. I honour his splendid abilities; but I must for ever protest, against his anti-christian application of them. And I wish to bear my testimony upon every occasion, against that muddy inundation of folly and of falsehood; which the unhappy dexterity of his hand, has let loose upon the Christian world. Never perhaps was literature more the impudent pander of sensuality, and never was reason perhaps more the falsifying slave of unbelief, than in his well-known history.

3.—In this state of Mahomet and his religion, the Christian Sun of Futurity broke in upon the Saracens of Arabia. It broke in indeed dreadfully discoloured by the medium, through which it passed to them. He exhibited those coming ages of existence to man, that awfully commence when life is terminated; and that naturally engage the deepest attentions of our honest selfishness, from the undefined duration of them; in an imagery, that was all corporeal, all sensual, and highly inflammatory to the combustible passions, of his own and the Arabian temper. He himself was a very prodigy of lustfulness. This it is difficult to show, without offending my own and my readers' delicacy. But it is requisite to hurt a little the sensibilities of delicacy, in order to maintain the precision of history. The lustfulness of Mahomet has always been considered, and very justly, as the marking feature of his historical face.

He

He was, in truth, a very Demi-god in obscenity. This PAN of Arabia, man, goat, and god in one, is reported by evidence that cannot be resisted in general, to have had the common sensuality of *forty* men, all united and combined in his own person. And what I add with pain, however necessary it may be to the completeness of my description, because I consider it as too pointed in itself; this PRIAPUS of Mecca is equally reported by equally competent testimony, founded assuredly on the relations of his own vaunting sensuality, to have once used all his eleven wives successively, within the compass of a single hour^z. Both these representations indeed, however attested by history, must seem to *our* minds absolutely impossible in fact. But great allowance ought certainly to be made, for the superior vivacity of corporeal sensations, in an Arabian compared with a Briton. What is impossible with us, I believe, is quite possible with them. "The ardour," says even an Italian historian con-

^z Prideaux, p. 149, from "Fortalitium Fidei, lib. iv. confid. 2," the work of a Franciscan friar in 1459, "Guadagnol. tract. 2, "cap. 7, sect. i." published by another in 1631, "Richardi Confutatio, c. 8," a book of great weight, written from a personal conversation with the Saracens about 1210, and "Disputatio Christiani, c. 6," written by one who was an officer in the very court of a Saracenick monarch before, and probably long before, 1130; for the first point: and "Johannes Andreas *e libro Affamail*, cap. 7," the composition of a Mahometan doctor, who was converted in 1487, and "Guadagnol. tract. 2, cap. 7, sect. i. *ex eodem libro*," a Saracenick work, of which nothing more is now known than from the quotations of these two authors; for the second.

cerning

cerning the Saracens, “ with which both sexes
“ among them rush dissolutely into lust, is incre-
“ dible in itself .” The averments of history,
therefore, may perhaps be true to their full extent.
Even if we bring them much nearer to the line
of our own feelings, by considering them as heigh-
tened considerably from the vauntings of a sensuality,
that was proud of its animal prowess, and pleased to
enhance it by falsehoods; yet in general they serve
very strongly to show us that vast enormity of lust,
which, in the opinion not merely of Arabians but
of Europeans, in the apprehension of Mahometans
as well as Christians, actuated the body of this pre-
tended prophet; and made him a *leader* in lustfulness
among the lustful Saracens, the very *king* of *satyrs*.
The lustfulness of him and of his countrymen, how-
ever, was not, as it has been stated to be, the result
of their climateⁱ. They must then have shared it
with all their confining neighbours. And their own
excess of venery could not have been, either parti-
cular in them or incredible to others. It was the
consequence of long habits of indulgence. Arabia
thus became the Cyprus of the continent, and from
the *same* principle of idolatry. The Arabians and
the Cypriots united, in that last extreme surely of

ⁿ A. Marcellinus, xiv. 4, p. 14. Valesius. “ Incredibile est,
“ quo ardore apud eos in venerem uterque solvitur sexus.”

ⁱ Prideaux, p. 149.

reason subjected to sense, the adoration of an acknowledged whore.

In Sanaa, the metropolis of Yaman or Arabia Felix, was a temple erected professedly to the honour of the planet Venus, under the title of *Al Zohara*; which was reckoned so sacred, that death was prophetically denounced against the man, who should destroy it^k. *Allat* was the idol of another tribe, and seems to have been a real Venus; the deity being a female one; the name most probably signifying the Goddess; and the *women* of the town where it was worshipped, begging of Mahomet it might not be destroyed at all, then intreating to have the destruction deferred for three years, soliciting next for a respite only of one month, and at last lamenting passionately their loss in its fate^l. *Al Uzzab* or the Mighty was the idol of two tribes and a half, a female certainly, and a real Venus probably: being the rival of the grand idol at Mecca; and attended by a female priest, who, at the demolition of her temple, ran out of it with her hair dishevelled, and with her hands upon her head, as a suitor supplicating for its preservation^m. *Manab* or the Bountiful, was another Venus, I suppose; being the female idol of two tribes, and (according to some)

^k Sale's Discourse, p. 17. See also John of Damascus, and St. Jerome, in Reland. de Reb. Mah. chap. v. for the Arabians worshipping the star Lucifer or Venus, to the days of Heraclius.

^l Sale's discourse, p. 18.

^m Sale's Discourse, p. 18 and 136.
of

of three others, even of the one which worshipped Allat; and being in itself only *a large stone*ⁿ. These were all *three* reckoned most high and beauteous damsels, as well as objects of adoration^o. But on two mountains adjoining to Mecca, were also two idols, one male, the other female; who are said by the Arabians themselves, to have been natives, that *committed whoredom together in the temple of Mecca*, that were therefore converted into *stone*, and afterwards *worshipped* by the *Meccans*^p. Indeed “*several*” of the Arabian idols, as Mr. Sale informs us, “*were no more than large rude stones*^q.” And I therefore consider *the black stone* at Mecca, as another idol of Venus among the ancient Meccans; they who professedly worshipped a whore in stone, they who worshipped professedly the planetary and probably the real Venus, and most probably in a large stone too, very probably worshipping the real Venus in this. This is *set in silver*, and fixed at the south-eastern angle of the temple without, about seven spans from the ground. There it is exceedingly respected by the Mahometans. It marks the angle, from which the pilgrims begin their processions of seven circuits round the temple; and is kissed by all the pilgrims at every circuit with great devotion, either immediately with the lips them-

ⁿ Discourse, p. 18 and 136.

^o Koran, chap. xxii. 279.

^p Discourse, p. 20.

^q Discourse, p. 20, and See

Koran, chap. v. p. 82.

elves,

selves, or mediately through the hand that touches it. It was used by Mahomet himself, *before* he established his religion at Mecca, as a kind of altar or divinity; to which he led his slave Zeid, and at which he formally adopted him for his son. And it is even called by some of the Meccans, from a high and traditional reverence for it, THE RIGHT HAND OF GOD ON EARTH. The Meccans equally relate it from tradition, to be *one of the precious stones of paradise*; that fell down to the earth with Adam, was preserved by an angel, and afterwards brought to Abraham *when he was building the temple*. Even since they became Mahometans, they offered no less than *five thousand pieces of gold* (or 3334 pounds sterling) for it, to an enemy who was taking it away. The enemy refused to accept even such a ransom for it, *intending by it to draw away all the pilgrims from Mecca*; and the Meccans, on recovering it, say they proved its identity by a miracle, the heavy mass floating upon water^r. All shows the stone to have been formerly an object of worship, and in all probability a symbol of Venus herself. Accordingly those processions round the temple, which still form the principal part of the worship, were all made by the worshipping men and women *quite naked*; are now made by the men *nearly naked*; and were allowed to be made by Mahomet himself, with the

^r Discourse, p. 117—118, and 119, and Mod. Un. Hist. i. 195, and Koran, p. 347.

liberty of taking *any* of the *women* into a *secret place*, and *of lying with them there*. Such an additional proof have we here of the shameless exorbitance of his lusts, in the impurities of his religious worship at the temple of Mecca! So plainly too was the temple of Mecca, a very temple of whoredoms! And the surprising co-incidence of a new testimony with all, which asserts the stone to have the figure of a *head* upon it, and of a *crescent* to mark the head for that of a *Venus*; and which is as surprisingly corroborated again in the *mythology*, by the Græcian historians declaring the ancient Arabs, to have actually worshipped Urania (or Venus), under the title of Allat; and by the Syrian and Arabian Venus, being always exhibited with a crescent as Urania: proves the temple of Mecca beyond a doubt, to have been originally that temple of Venus, in which men and women committed whoredom as an act of worship; the black stone to have been that idol of it, before which they thus worshipped; and that ensign of Mahometanism, the crescent, to have been originally derived from both^s.

Such

^s Mod. Un. Hist. i. 213, Sale's Discourse, p. 16, and Bibliotheca Biblica, i. 613—614. "According to Euthymius Zigabenus," says the first work, "there appears the figure of a human head cut in it, which some take to be the head of a Venus; but this is not sufficiently supported by any Arab author." An *Arabian* author would be the *best* witness, undoubtedly. But, in matters of testimony, we must not always expect the best. A second-rate testimony is

Such a mode of devotion, which exalted whoredom into worship, was fure to go with a sweeping tide

is all, that we can ordinarily expect. And such is that of Euthymius, here cited; especially when not opposed by any other evidence whatever. And when it coincides with a long train of testimonies, and forms a happy link to an extended chain of evidence, as it does here; then the attestation becomes decisive. “The black stone,” says Mr. Parker in the last work, “is an oblong square, about four feet in length and two in breadth, as it were a cube upon a cube, within a greater cube, which is the Mahometan Caaba;” a name for the temple of Mecca, that is probably derived from its quadrangular form (Sale’s Discourse, p. 114). “*At first* it was placed not within any temple or mosque, but in the open fields; and *these grounds*, so long as it continued in them, the Arabians pretend *were made happy and fruitful by it, and freed from all noxious creatures.*—Whether it was originally designed for a talisman of Mars or of Venus, admits of some dispute; Suidas affirming, that the Arabians worshipped the god Mars, under the species of a quadrangular stone of such a dimension; but others, with equal assurance, maintaining it to be the stone of Cabar, or the tabernacle of the star Venus;—and it is said *the figure of Venus is seen to this day engraved upon it, with a crescent.*—The very Caaba itself was at first an idolatrous temple, where the Arabians worshipped Al-Uza, that is, Venus.—The ceremonies which are used in visiting this stone, the salutation made to the Caaba and to the stone, and the prayer which is to be said in approaching it [the Caaba, I suppose], are to be found in the account of Bobovius published by Dr. Hyde.—The sculpture of a little crescent upon this stone, remarkably discovers the genius and original of this sect; and the Arabian as well as Syrian Venus having been commonly taken for the moon in all these parts, the day of Venus, which is Friday, came to be in such veneration among this people as their weekly *giuma*, and the ridges of their houses and the tops of their mosques to be adorned with this symbol (*Uranix corniculatæ sacrum. Seld. de Venere Syriacâ*).” In Cyprus was “a temple to Venus, probably Venus Urania or the chaste Venus; for there
“ was

tide of impurity through the land. Mahomet therefore drest up his ages of futurity, as his ancestors had drest up their devotions, in the warmest colours of sensuality. The paradise or heaven of Mahomet, for his heaven he calls paradise, has accordingly been considered in every age since he arose, as one of the most pregnant proofs of the spirit of his religion, and of the source of his revelations. To pleasant gardens, bubbling fountains, flowing currents, and shading trees, he has taken particular care, to add beds of fine carpets and green cushions for the blessed, and a variety of females to share the beds with them. These females are not their former wives, the women with whom

“ was a city in this part called Urania,—and it was not lawful for
 “ *any woman to enter this temple*” (Pococke, ii. part i. p. 218).
 See also Ant. Un. Hist. xvii. 270—273, for Urania being considered
 as Venus and the Moon: and that the Arabians made their processions round the temple, all naked; see Sale’s Discourse, p. 121.
 Even now the men-pilgrims at the different stations near Mecca, where they assemble in order to enter Mecca, and begin their approach to the temple, “ put on the *Ihrâm* or sacred habit; which
 “ consists *only* of two *woollen wrappers*, one wrapped about their middle
 “ to cover their privities, and the other thrown over their shoulders”
 (p. 119). See also Koran, chap. vii. p. 119, and note, p. 149, for the pilgrims being naked before; and Mod. Un. Hist. i. 260, for this privilege of Mahomet’s. The temple of Mecca itself is ornamented with crescents innumerable, one upon each of the cupolas, minarets, stations, &c.; as a curious plan of the buildings in Sale’s Discourse, p. 114, very pleasingly shows us. Accordingly Anna Comnena and Glycas in Reland. de Mah. say, that “ the Mahometans,” whom they inaccurately confound with their ancestors the pagans, “ do worship Venus.”

B b

they

they have contracted honourable friendships, and towards whom their souls have been drawn out, in long scenes of affectionate tenderness; their wives being either annihilated by the hand of this unappropriated voluptuary, or (what is nearly the same in the estimate of good husbands) banished into another abode, separated from their wedded loves, and even debarred by this pretended friend and real tyrant of the sex, from having any new lovers. But, for the comfort of *his* part of human nature, all the other glories of paradise will be eclipsed, he tells them, by the resplendent and ravishing girls of paradise. These are not to be created of clay, as their wives of earth were, but of something much more refined, even of—pure musk. Yet they are to be real females, though subject to no female disorders. They are to be of equal age with themselves, and to have large black eyes, swelling breasts, and countenances bright as the ruby and the pearl. But, as sensualists always love the very modesty which they are always labouring to destroy, these blooming maids of heaven are to be rigidly modest; so at least, as not to have been deflowered by either men or genii. They are therefore to be secluded from the eye, even of the paradisaical world; in pavilions of hollow pearls, many furlongs, or (what is the same in the estimate of such a fairy tale as this) many miles in extent. But, on the day of commencing felicity in paradise, they are to come forth
from

from their pavilions, lie down with their paramours, and give them all the pleasures of love.

Thus shall the saints of Mahomet solace themselves with sensual delights, to all eternity. Nor shall variety be wanting, as a new stimulus for enjoyment. Every man shall have no less than *seventy two* of these beautified whores, for his own seraglio; a circumstance, that shows in the fullest light the rampant lasciviousness, which I have noted before in the Arabians and in their prophet. Not one of these shall ever cast an eye of regard, upon any other than himself. None of them too shall conceive by him, unless he desires it. He himself also, whatever be his age when he dies, shall be raised in the youthful vigour of manhood, and shall continue in a state of youthful manhood for ever. But for fear the powers of nature should still sink, under this accumulated weight of sensuality; they are to be recruited continually with draughts of wine. Nectars of the most delicate flavour shall be perpetually supplied, in cups of gold, and in glasses of diamonds, by some handsome Ganymedes running round the beds of these celestial mortals. Bacchus shall thus be still the minister of Venus. Under the management of both, the bodily enjoyment of their Mahometan voraries in heaven, shall be perpetually stretched to its full bent, and continually wound up to its highest pitch. They shall love, they shall drink, and then—they shall love again. They shall not even need to

seek the shade of privacy, for the consummation of their loves. They shall indulge them in the open face of heaven, the same work going on in every part of the celestial region, one couch answering to another, and each attended by its listening Ganymedes. These alone will be wretched, being set to listen to the acted loves around them, and yet provided with no blooming Hebes for themselves. And to crown all this exhibition of happiness, merely obscene, every man is to have the most exquisite fruition of it, by having the ability of a hundred men (when Mahomet is said before to have had only that of forty), concentrated in himself^t. So completely did Mahomet indulge, the passionate pruriency of his own and the Arabian genius; in his delineation of heaven to them. Never was the common sense, and common decency, of mankind so grossly insulted, as in the appearance of Mahomet among them; he pretending to carry the illumination of a prophet in his face, actually sounding at times the notes of a real prophet with his tongue, and yet all the while holding the ensign of Priapus impudently displayed in his hands^u.

But

^t Prideaux, p. 25—26, Sale's Discourse, p. 96, 99, 97, and 102—103, Mod. Un. Hist. i. p. 344 and 348, and Koran, chap. lxxviii. p. 479, chap. lv. p. 433, chap. xlvii. p. 410, chap. xxxviii. p. 376, chap. lxxxviii. p. 489, chap. xv. p. 212, chap. xxxvii. p. 367, and chap. xliii. p. 400.

^u It has been remarked by Mr. Sale, and from him by Mr. Gibbon, that the Mahometans do not make "the happiness of the blessed;

" to

But had he done no more than this, *he* would never have been a prophet of celebrity among the sons

“to consist *wholly* of corporeal enjoyments;” because Mahomet “is reported to have said,—He will be in the highest honour with God, who shall behold his face morning and evening; and this favour Al Ghazâli supposes to be that additional or superabundant recompence, promised in the Koran, chap. x” (Discourse, p. 100). But the passage of the Koran runs thus, in Mr. Sale’s own translation: “God inviteth unto the dwelling of peace [Paradise];—they who do right shall receive a most excellent reward, and a superabundant addition; neither blackness nor shame shall cover their faces: these shall be the inhabitants of Paradise, they shall continue therein for ever” (p. 169). This evidently has no relation to the beatific vision. The interpretation of it by Al Ghazâli, therefore, is only one of the many attempts made by more refined Mahometans, to take off from the disgusting grossness of their real Paradise. And the report of what Mahomet said, must be attributed to the same principle; what he *received by revelation*, and got to be written as *revelation*, being confessedly all gross and sensual. Accordingly we see the *Mahometans themselves*, considering the sensuality of their Paradise to be the characteristick circumstance of it; as, “when they would bind the Christians in the *most* strong and sacred manner, —they make them swear that, if they falsify their engagement, they will affirm, that there will be *black-eyed girls* in the next world, and *corporeal pleasures*” (Discourse, p. 102). And Mahomet, as Mr. Sale himself allows, “judged, it is to be presumed, from his own inclinations; that, like Panurgus’s ass, they would think all other enjoyments not worth their acceptance, if they were debarred from this” (p. 102). We shall consequently hear no more from Mr. Gibbon, or any other Mahometan, of the *spiritual* pleasures of this *sensual* Paradise.

Sensualists never *respect* women. They use them indeed, as implements for their own indulgence. But they never *respect* them. This is apparent in Mahomet, that prince of sensualists; from his providing a heaven for his males, furnishing them there very carefully with new and celestial wives, but either annihilating their former wives,

sons of men, and *they* would never have become a nation of conquerors among them. *They* would have slumbered in indolence and voluptuousness, with their earthly *Houris* by their side. And *he* would have proved only one of the many preachers of sensuality, who have appealed in every age to the lower and bestial part of man, have profelyted those who were already profelyted by their own passions, and have at last sunk under the general contempt of a world, that is still sensible of its relation to the Father of Spirits, still happy in the idea of its connection with the world of spirits, and expecting to be happier still in the society of them, and of Him, hereafter. But Mahomet's mind, amidst all his libidinousness, had a strong spring of activity within. Like another Cæsar, he used pleasure for his pastime, and business for his employment. He therefore infused into his followers, what he felt in him-

or banishing them and *all the virgins of earth* to another region, and leaving them without any provision of lovers at all. Accordingly "he was used to say, that among *men* there were *many* perfect; "but of *women* he would allow only *four* to be such; and these were "Asiah the wife of Pharaoh, Mary the mother of Christ, Cadigha "his wife, and Fatima his daughter" (Prideaux, p. 88). He thus denies the existence of that degree of goodness, which he allows many to have shared among men, to all women but *one* in effect; as his three others stand for nothing: and so reduces that sex much below ours in goodness, which in goodness is certainly very much superior to it. And "the greater part of the wretches confined in hell," adds Mahomet, consists of whom think ye,—"*of women*" (Mod. Un. Hist. i. 345).

self;

self; a vigorous portion of military energy. This coincided as much with that turbulence and bravery of spirit, which had made them the perpetual plunderers of their neighbours, and the invincible resisters of their invasions; as the other did with their sensuality. And the general rewards, which, in the grossness, the fantasticalness, and the puerility of his paradisaical images, he assigned to those who fought for Mahometanism, by declaring paradise to be placed “under the shadow of fwords^x ;” and the particular remunerations, which he reserved for those who died in battle, by ranking them as the martyrs of Mahometanism, and resting them “in the crops of green birds, which eat of the fruits and drink of the rivers of paradise^y ;” gave a violent and military impulse to both. But this alone could not be sufficient, for a rational creature. Mahomet therefore tempered all, with the enthusiasm of religion. Like Prometheus, he stole a fire from heaven, to operate as the soul of his new man. With an useful judiciousness, he enjoined prayer to his disciples, as the pillar of religion and the key of paradise^z. And, with an absurdity equally useful, he fixed all the incidents in their lives, under the bondage of an ir-resistible decree from God^a.

Beneath the influence of a religion, that was equally

^x Mod. Un. Hist. i. p. 392.

^y Sale's Discourse, p. 77.

^z Ibid. p. 107.

^a Ibid. p. 103.

devout, sensitive, and warlike; they started up at once a race of fanatick soldiers, bold in the confidence of predestination and prayer, fearless of death in the field, and even ambitious of falling in fight. Under the guidance of their grand "prophet of war," and with his successors, their priestly princes, directing them; they burst in upon the Roman empire, dismembered it of nearly all its provinces, conquered Persia, and subdued Indostan. They thus reduced almost all Asia, under the obedience of Mecca; transferred the seat of sovereignty, first to Damascus and then to Bagdad; so revived successively a kind of Syrian and Assyrian empire in the world, but extended it westerly to the farthest bounds of Africa, and thence carried it northerly into Spain, France, Sicily, and Italy. At last they had the distinguished honour, of finally subverting that wonderful work of ages, that seemingly eternal fabrick of solidity, the Roman empire; and of sweeping it away from the face of the earth, for ever. And they fixed the crescent in the room of the cross, upon the imperial church of Constantinople. But, what was more extraordinary still, they proselyted as they conquered, and even as they were conquered. They drew in the Persians, the Indians, the Tartars, and the Turks, to wish for the paradise that was "under the shadow of swords;" the meaner of them, to fight for the embraces of their black-eyed maids of paradise;

radise; and the more generous, even to contend for
 “ a rest in the crops of their green birds” of para-
 dise. This globule of foul water, as it rolled along,
 licked up the dust of the ground, sometimes an end
 of straw, sometimes a grain of sand, and sometimes a
 particle of metal; attached them all to its mass; and
 so formed itself into a ball of magnitude, from the
 congregated dirt of the earth. And the Saracens
 established Mahometanism, and with it established
 Arianism, over a full quarter of the globe.

4.—^b Arianism is too plainly apparent upon the
 Koran. “ Say not there be three Gods,” says Ma-
 homet,

^b Before I enter on the new part of my argument, let me make
 one remark here. Mahomet has thrust himself, as I have said be-
 fore, into the throne of our Saviour. This relates merely to the pro-
 phetick character. Mahomet has set himself, as a teacher to man-
 kind, higher than our Saviour. But, in dignity of nature, he sets
 himself lower; whatever has been confidently said, and hastily be-
 lieved, to the contrary. “ The true or orthodox moslems,” says an
 author in *Mod. Un. Hist.* i. 70, “ consider our Saviour as *a creature*,
 “ and Mohammed at the same time as *scarce inferior* to God himself;”
 certainly not as God, certainly inferior therefore, and certainly a crea-
 ture. Mahomet in the opinion of his followers, says the same author in
 another place, “ was the first of the prophets in the order of *creation*,
 “ though the last in the order of mission; *Adam*, and all other crea-
 “ tures, *having been created by him*” (i. 255). This is carrying the
 dignity of Mahomet, very far indeed. But the words mean not all,
 that they seem to import by their sound. They make not Mahomet
 more than human. He is only “ the *first* of the *prophets* in the order
 “ of creation.” And, if he was a creator, he was only of “ *Adam*,
 “ and all other” *human* “ creatures,” all the creatures that were
 posterior to Adam. “ He surpassed all the *rest* of *mankind* in sense
 “ and

homet, “—there is but one God^c.” So exactly did Mahomet talk, as our modern Arians do; mistaking the very principles of the Christian theology; and making the three Persons in one Godhead, as actually believed by the Christians, into three Persons and three Godheads, as pretendedly believed by them! “They are certainly infidels,” he adds, “who say, God is *the third of three*, for there is no God besides one God^d.” Mahomet thus ad-

“and understanding, and particularly in every branch of divine knowledge;” while “his breast was miraculously opened by angels,” and “angels sheltered him with their wings from the heat of the sun” (i. 255—256). “God has commanded the world to obey him;” “he will be the first of the sons of Adam that shall rise from the dead, and advance to the place of judgment on his beast Al Borak, escorted by 70,000 angels” (i. 259); “he will be called by his own proper name, to the place of judgment;” “will carry in his hand the standard of glory, under which Adam and all his followers will range themselves;” “will be the great pontiff of the faithful, their orator and conductor;” and, in short, he is and will be “the prince and lord of all the children of Adam,” and “more noble in the sight of God, than any of his other creatures,” meaning only his *human* creatures (i. 258, 259). All shows Mahomet to be raised indeed by the folly of Mahometanism, into a seat of high honour. But then the honour is not angelick. It is merely human. He only stands in their belief, the human lord and the human creator of the race of man, created first himself, and then empowered to create his brethren. And he says expressly himself, “*I say not unto you, The treasures of God are in my power; neither do I say, I know the secrets of God; neither do I say unto you, Verily I am an angel: I follow only that which is revealed unto me. Say, shall the blind and the seeing be held equal?*” (ch. vi. p. 103). “Verily, I am only a *man* like you” (chap. xli. p. 389).

^c Sale’s Koran, chap. iv. p. 81.

^d Chap. v. p. 92.

vances, in his Arian mis-representations of the faith of Christ. He has already exhibited our Divine Persons in the Godhead, as so many distinct Gods in our belief. He now exhibits them, as in our belief two *creatures* united with God; thus contradicting directly his previous representation of them. But he does even more than this, in his account of us. He makes our Deity to consist of two creatures conjoined with God, and—God only ranking as “the *third* of the three.” And he thus places, for us, the two creatures prior in the order of position, and God himself posterior to them. “They are surely infidels,” he farther tells us, “who say, ‘Verily God is Christ the Son of Mary^e.’” This is another mis-representation of the catholick doctrine, in Mahomet. But it is an Arian one. We say not that God is Christ, but that Christ is God. We own a Divine Person in the Godhead, as much superior to Christ in origin, as a father is to his son. And we only say, that Christ shares the nature of the Godhead with this Being, as a son shares the nature of his father. Yet the meaning of Mahomet is very plain, in all this. He means, like Trypho the Jew, to deny and to oppose the Divinity of our Saviour, as asserted by the Christians around him. He thus stands forth an incontrovertible evidence himself, of the actual belief in the Trinity, and of the actual adoration of our Saviour, by the Christians

^e Chap. v. p. 85.

of the seventh century. He is an equal witness also, to his own falsifying wilfulness, or his own mis-apprehending ignorance, in all. And he shows the one or the other still more, afterwards. By an absurdity *all his own*, he makes the Christian Trinity to consist of God the Father, God the Son, and—the Virgin Mary. “God shall say unto Jesus at the last day,” he assures us, “O Jesus, Son of Mary, hast thou said unto men, Take me *and my mother* for two Gods, beside God^f.” By an absurdity equally *all his own*, he maintains that “the Jews say, *Ezra* is the son of God, and the Christians say, *Christ* is the Son of God: this is their saying in their mouths; they *imitate the saying of those, who were unbelievers in former times*.” He thus shows us his full conviction, of a belief in the Trinity being a leading principle of Christian faith, in former times as well as in the present. And he also furnishes us with an opportunity, of showing our candour even to a Mahomet; of vindicating him from the charge of falshood, and of attributing all to his folly; that folly, which made him to contradict himself so pointedly, and occasioned him to blunder so egregiously, in some grand circumstances before. “God,” he adds in a juster spirit to the Christians, and in a fairer opposition to Christianity, “is but one God; far be it from him, that

^f Chap. v. p. 98.

^g Chap. ix. p. 152—153.

“ he

“ he should have a Son ^h.” He here considers the Son of God, in the belief of the Christians *then* and *formerly*, as *such* to be God. We have accordingly a spurious Gospel, which carries the name of St. Barnabas as the author, yet is ascribed by some to an heretical Christian, but is plainly one regular and consistent fabrication of Mahometan imposture being made assuredly just after the Koran, and in order to corroborate it, by one who had more knowledge in the records of Christianity, than Mahomet; in which the Christian cotemporaries of the forgery are equally attested, to call our Saviour expressly *Son of God* and *God*, or *God* and *his Son*ⁱ.

But

^h Chap. iv. p. 81.

ⁱ This Gospel I have cited before in iii. 2, 1, a note, as making the Christians to call our Saviour *the Son of God* and *God*, and as attributed by Mr. Sale and Mr. White to some heretical Christian. But it is, I am persuaded, purely a Mahometan forgery. The original is found only in *Arabick*, and only among the *Mahometans* (Sale's Discourse, p. 74). This distinguishes it decisively from a spurious work of a similar nature, *the Revelation of St. Peter*; which the Mahometans have equally in *Arabick*, but which was not unknown in the original to the primitive Christians (Mod. Un. Hist. i. 337). From that *Arabick* original of St. Barnabas, the Moriscoes of Africa have a *Spanish* translation (Discourse, p. 74); one undoubtedly made for their use, when they exercised their Mahometanism in Spain. From the Spanish do we derive the only translation, which we have in English (White, p. xlii). Merely eight chapters of the English have been published. But from them we see enough to show, that the piece is the forgery of a *Mahometan Jew*. The English translation being *literal* from the Spanish (White, p. xli), the name of Joseph of Arimathea is twice disfigured in this manner,

“ Joseph

But Mahomet assigns a reason, for God not having a Son; which is worthy of the materialized intellect of a Mahomet. "He—*hath taken no wife,*" he says, "nor hath he begotten any issue^k." Or, as he expresses himself more pointedly in another place,

"Joseph *Abarimatheas*" (p. lxxi. and lxxvi). The Jew also is detected in the following sentence: "the disciples, who did not fear God with truth, *went by night, and stole the body of*" the supposed Jesus, "and hid it; *spreading a report that he had risen again*" (White, p. lxxii). And the Mahometan is apparent in all the stronger features of it; in all those particularly, which have compelled even such as think it the fabrication of a Christian heretick, to pronounce it interpolated by a Mahometan (Sale's Discourse, p. 74, Koran, p. 42—43, and White, p. 358); and especially in those references to Mahomet as a future prophet, which are the grand object of the whole, and form so useful a foundation for the Koran (Sale's Discourse, p. 74—75, and White's notes, p. lxxvi. xliii. and xliii—xlv). The whole was evidently forged for the introduction of these, and most probably by the Jew hereafter mentioned. The Mahometans, according to M. D'Herbelot, have equally a spurious copy of the *Psalms*; and even, according to another author of credit, a spurious copy also of the *Pentateuch* (Mod. Un. Hist. i. 330); both equally in Arabick with this of the Gospels, and equally with it, I suppose, formed by the same Jew for a support of the Koran. And as interpolations alledged without evidence, prove nothing but the wishes of the alledger; so are those very interpolations generally, for that very reason, the prominent and marking element of the whole. See also a note hereafter, v. 3; where the reader will find an *intimation* in the Koran, expanded into a *regular history* by the Gospel of St. Barnabas. Yet in either light, considered as the fabrication of some heretical Christian, or as the posterior forgery of a Mahometan; it proves the point for which I adduce it here, and have adduced it in iii. 2, 1, a note; and attests the Christians cotemporary with the forgery, to have called our Saviour the *Son of God* and *God*.

^k Chap. lxxii, p. 468.

" how

“how should he have issue, *since he hath no consort*!”
And he thus presents his Arianism, with its naked front of assurance, and in its full dress of stupidity, before us.

Yet in other places he speaks of our Saviour, in a manner very different: “O Mary,” God is introduced saying to the Blessed Virgin, “verily God
“sendeth thee good tidings, that thou shalt bear
“the WORD *proceeding from himself*!” He thus seems to give a consubstantiality of divine nature to our Saviour, as the Logos or WORD of the Father. He also says of John the Baptist, that he “shall
“bear witness to the WORD which *cometh from*
“*God*.” “Verily Christ Jesus the Son of Mary,” he adds, “is the Apostle of God, and his WORD,
“which he *conveyed into Mary*, and a Spirit *proceed-*
“*ing from him*.” And there is a peculiarity in the language of Mahomet concerning God, that is very remarkable in itself, yet has never been noticed, and directly coincides with all this. He repeatedly uses the scriptural phrase of *plurality*, in the speeches of God concerning himself. Of this I will give one striking instance. “When thy Lord,” the Koran tells us, “said unto the angels, *I am going*
“to place a substitute on earth,—God answered,
“Verily *I know that which ye know not,—declare*

¹ Chap. vi. p. 109.

² Chap. iii. p. 40.

^m Chap. iii. p. 40.

[•] Chap. iv. p. 80—81.

“unto

“ unto *me* the names.—God said, Did *I* not tell
 “ you that *I* know.—And when *we* said unto the
 “ angels, Worship Adam,—and *we* said, O Adam,
 “ —*we* said, Get ye all down from hence, hereafter
 “ shall there come unto you a direction from *me*,
 “ and whoever shall follow *my* direction,” &c.
 “ But they who shall—accuse *our* signs, of fals-
 “ hood,” &c. “ Remember *my* favour wherewith
 “ *I* have favoured you, and perform your covenant
 “ with *me*, and *I* will perform *my* covenant with
 “ you; and revere *me*, and believe in the revelation
 “ which *I* have sent down,—neither exchange *my*
 “ signs, and fear *me*.—Remember *my* favour,—and
 “ that *I* have preferred you [Jews] above all
 “ nations.—Remember, when *we* delivered you
 “ from the people of Pharaoh,—when *we* divided
 “ the sea for you,—when *we* treated with Moses
 “ forty nights,—*we* forgave you;—*we* gave Moses
 “ the Book of the Law,—*we* caused clouds to over-
 “ shadow you :—they injured not *us*.—*We* said—
 “ *we* will pardon,—*we* sent down, and—*we* said ^p.”

This passage will stand as a sufficient specimen, of
 the general style of the Koran in this point. The
 transition from the singular number to the plural,
 the return from the plural back to the singular, the
 recurrence again from the singular to the plural,
 and even the immediate interchange of both at times;
 are very extraordinary. The God of Mahomet thus

speaks of himself as a plurality, exactly as the God of the scriptures does. Even he who is merely one person in one nature, speaks of himself as a plurality *much oftener*, than He who is three in one. So plainly was the Koran a system of orthodoxy once, though it is now of heresy! Both systems are apparent there at present; *this* prominent and triumphant, *that* latent and overwhelmed by the other. And Mahomet in another place decisively degrades the WORD of God, from all that participation of Divinity, which he has given to him before; by abruptly cutting him off from all filial relation to God, in these words: “ this was Jesus the Son of Mary, “ the WORD of Truth, concerning whom they [the “ Jews] doubt; it is not meet for God, that He “ should have any SON, God forbid^q.”

Mahomet indeed makes the Logos or our Saviour, and the Holy Ghost, to be a couple of Angels; the Logos to be Michael, the friend and protector of the Jews; and the Holy Ghost to be Gabriel, whom he constitutes superior to Michael or the Logos^r. “ *We*,” says God, “ formerly delivered “ the law unto Moses, and caused apostles to succeed him, and gave evident miracles to Jesus the “ Son of Mary, and strengthened him with *the* “ *Holy Spirit*^s.” “ But we must not imagine,”

^q Chap. xix. p. 251.

^r See Sale's Discourse, p. 2.

^s Koran, chap. ii. p. 12.

Mr. Sale remarks, that “Mohammed here means the
 “Holy Ghost, in the Christian acceptation: the
 “commentators say, this spirit was the angel Ga-
 “briel, who sanctified Jesus, and constantly at-
 “tended on him ^t.” And “the commentators
 “say,” as Mr. Sale informs us, “that the *Jews*
 “asked, What angel it was that brought the divine
 “revelations to Mohammed; and being told it was
 “Gabriel, they replied that he was their enemy,
 “and the messenger of wrath and punishment; but
 “if it had been *Michael*, they would have believed
 “on him, because that angel was *their friend*, and
 “*the messenger of peace and plenty* ^u.”—But “when the
 “Son of Mary was proposed for an example,” adds
 God to Mahomet, “behold, thy people cried out
 “through excess of joy thereat, and they said, Are
 “our GODS better, or HE?” This evidently alludes to
 the recent introduction of Christianity into some parts
 of Arabia, and the preference which some of the Ara-
 bians were giving to our Saviour as a God, before
 their own Gods. “This passage,” Mr. Sale ob-
 serves, “is generally supposed to have been revealed,
 “on occasion of an objection made by one Ebn al
 “Zabári, to those words in the twenty-first chapter;
 “by which all in general who were worshipped as
 “DEITIES besides God, are doomed to Hell:
 “whereupon the infidels” or Heathen Arabs “cried

^t Koran, ch. ii. p. 12.

^u Koran, p. 13.

“out”

“out” by the mouth of Ebn al Zabári, “We are
 “contented that our Gods should be with JESUS,
 “for HE ALSO IS WORSHIPPED AS GOD.” But, as
 Mahomet’s God proceeds, “Jesus is no other than
 “a servant, whom we favoured with the gift of pro-
 “phesy; and we appointed him for an example
 “unto the children of Israel; if we pleased, verily
 “we could *from yourselves* produce ANGELS, to suc-
 “ceed you in the earth^x.” As far as we can see
 into the meaning of Mahomet, through that in-
 distinctness of expression, which is perhaps the
 natural concomitant of imposture concerning hea-
 venly objects, as having no heavenly arche-
 types before its suggestors; and which certainly
 spreads a thick cloud over the Koran, to every
 reader of it; Mahomet evidently makes *him* an *An-
 gel*, born indeed of woman, but yet an ANGEL,
 whom the Christians were adoring as a GOD, and
 whom some of the Arabs had been lately going to
 receive as a God, together with his religion. Ac-
 cordingly Mahomet, in his famous journey to Hea-
 ven, meets with our Saviour there, and *recommends
 himself to our Saviour’s prayers*; though he makes
 Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and the Baptist,
 all successively recommend themselves *to the prayers
 of Mahomet*^y. So much superior does Mahomet
 consider our Saviour, to himself and to all mankind!

^x Koran, ch. xliii. p. 399.

^y Prideaux, p. 62, and Mod. Un. Hist. i. p. 70.

So likewise he says of our Saviour, that "his name shall be Christ Jesus the Son of Mary, honourable in this world and the world to come, and ONE OF THOSE WHO APPROACH NEAR TO THE PRESENCE OF GOD²." And he adds in another place, what sufficiently explains this characteristick description; that "Christ doth not proudly disdain to be a servant unto God, neither [do] the ANGELS who *approach near to his presence*³." Mahomet thus makes our Saviour, to be equally an Angel with the Holy Ghost. Mahomet accordingly thought him to be the Angel Michael, the only Angel besides Gabriel, that is noticed with particular respect by the Koran. He is noticed equally with Gabriel by it, and noticed as equally with Gabriel an Angel and an Apostle from God. "Whosoever," let me repeat after Mahomet, "is an enemy to God, or his *Angels*, or his *Apostles*," the speaker still keeping himself among the inhabitants of Heaven, as appears from what immediately follows; "or to *Gabriel*," as one of the Apostles and Angels, "or *Michael*," as another of them; the author specifying these, as the only two of the Angels, that had been sent as Apostles upon earth, *this* as Christ to preach to the world, and *that* as the Holy Spirit to strengthen *him*, and to inspire Mahomet; "verily God is an enemy to the

² Koran, ch. iii. p. 40.

³ Ibid. ch. iv. p. 81.

"unbelievers,"

“unbelievers,” and will assert the honour of the two Angels delegated by him^b.

Mahomet thus began a course of Arianism, which has since continued in the Christian world; and the ignorance of Arabia has been strangely transplanted, to take root in the enlightened soil of the British islands. This very folly, of making Gabriel the Holy Ghost, and Michael the Logos; which we should naturally have thought, to be the exclusive property of Mahomet; has been recently revived, by what happily appears a monster of absurdity to these later ages, an Arian Bishop of the church. Bishop Clayton revived it, in his Essay on Spirit^c. He revived it, perhaps without knowing the original author, and perhaps by actually adopting it from the Koran and its commentators. So closely allied is Arianism to Mahometanism, that it is either fighting against the Gospel, with weapons of its own all truly Mahometan, when it thinks nothing of its disgraceful connexion with the Koran; or else is wield-

^b Koran, ch. ii. p. 13. So the Son of God is said by Justin Martyr, to be called “Angel and *Apostle*” (p. 96); as Christ is called “the *Apostle* and Highpriest of our profession,” in Hebrews iii. 1; and is again called in the Koran itself, “the *Apostle* of God, and his “Word” (see p. 383).

^c P. 75. “As it appears, that the archangel *Michael* is that person, who is called the Second Essence by the *Jews*; so upon enquiry we shall find, that the Angel *Gabriel* has a very good title, “towards being considered as that *Third Essence* or Being, to which “the *Jews* paid divine honours.”

ing weapons in a cause truly Mahometan, that are borrowed from its confederates of the Koran, and furnished from the magazines of Mahometanism!

But whence did Mahomet derive his Arianism? The Christians about him, as we have already seen, acknowledged the Divinity of their Founder, and are reproached by him for it. He could not deduce it, like a modern Arian, from his own perversion of the Scriptures. He could neither read nor write. And he could have the heresy only from the Jews, those original fathers of it.

So ignorant himself, as to have been the first man in such a state of ignorance, who pretended to introduce a new religion into the world; and yet so artful and so attentive, as merely by his own management to succeed amazingly; he must have had the sagacity to chuse proper persons, for his instruments in the work of imposition. The *first* and *foremost* of these was a foreign Jew; a man so well instructed in all the learning of the Jews, that he had commenced Rabbi among them^d. “We also
“know that they say,” God speaks of Mahomet,
“Verily, a certain man teacheth him to compose
“the Koran: the tongue of the person unto whom
“they incline, is a foreign tongue; but this, wherein
“the Koran is written, is the perspicuous Arabic
“tongue.” The fact therefore was known and

^d Prideaux, p. 41—44.

^e Koran, ch. xvi. p. 223.

urged,

urged, in the very days of Mahomet. Nor could he alledge any thing in bar of the accusation, we see, but what was compleatly irrelative and impertinent; that the foreigner could not suggest to him the *sentiments* of the Koran, because he could not—write the *language* of it. Who this foreigner was, we are authentically informed by an author, who, being a Dominican Friar of the name of Richard, had the good sense and the vigour in 1210 to travel to Bagdad, for the sole purpose of studying Mahometanism in its own records, in order to refute it. Such a spirit was sure to be eminently useful. He accordingly published on his return, a learned and judicious refutation of the Saracenick law. Even learned and judicious it is, as it appears only in a translation of it into Greek, and a re-translation of it into Latin; the original itself being lost. In this work he tells us, that “Mahomet, being an illiterate
“ person, had for his helper in the forging of his
“ imposture, among others, one ABDIA BEN SALON, a Jew; whose name Mahomet afterwards
“ changed, to make it correspond with the Arabick
“ dialect, into *Abdollah Ebn Salem*.” The Friar also informs us in another part of his work, that this Abdiah or Abdollah was the very person, who was pointed at in the above-cited passage of the Koran^g. We have also a second author, Johannes Andreas,

^f Prideaux's Life, p. 41, and Letter, p. 178—179.

^g Life, p. 42.

who was originally a Doctor of the Mahometan law in Spain, but was converted to Christianity in 1487, and wrote a work in confusion of the Mahometan Sect. He and the Friar, from their superior acquaintance with the subject, are the best authorities which the West furnishes, for any account of Mahometanism. He assures us from authentick testimonies of those Arabian works, with which he was intimately acquainted; that Abdollah Ebn Salem, or (as he miscalls him) Abdala Celen, “was for
 “ten years together *the person, by whose hand all the*
 “*pretended revelations of the impostor were first*
 “*written* ^b.” And we have in Arabick a work, that has been translated into Latin; and is denominated “a Dialogue of Mahomet with Abdollah Ebn
 “Salem,” as Mahomet’s chief helper in forging the imposture ⁱ. In forming this connection, no doubt, Mahomet was determined as far as his policy permitted him a choice, by the principles of consanguinity. Equally pretending with the Jew to be a Son of Sarah, and being equally with him a derivative from Abraham; nature drew the cords of conjunction very close. The union appears to have been very strong, from its duration. It lasted no less than *ten* years together. In this period, all the constituent parts of the monster must have been put together, and the blood and spirits infused into it,

^b Life, p. 43. and Let. p. 177. ⁱ Life, p. 43. and Let. p. 162.

Accordingly

Accordingly the Koran speaks expressly and vauntingly, of “a witness of the children of Israel, bearing witness to its consonancy with the law, and believing therein.” The Jew outlived his Prophet many years; and had what the world will call perhaps, the rare felicity of seeing his and Mahomet’s Koran before his death, carried triumphantly on the point of the Saracen lances, over a full eighth of the globe^k. And from him it comes, that we even see the *general* complexion of Judaism, plainly apparent in the features of the Koran.

We thus find the Mahometans, like the Jews, reducing Daniel to the lowest degree in the scale of inspiration^l; feeding the Believers at the Day of Judgment, upon the oxen Balâm and the fish Nûn, as the Jews do upon Behemoth and Leviathan^m; like them, asserting the incorruptibility of the rump-boneⁿ; and agreeing with them in their opinions, concerning alms^o, fasting^p, prohibited meats^q, usury^r, marriage, and divorces^s. This glaring coin-

^k Koran, ch. xlv. p. 406, and Mod. Un. Hist. ii. 62. Mahomet died in A. D. 632 (Mod. Un. Hist. i. 227), and Abdia thirty-two or thirty-three years after him. Several of Mahomet’s companions outlived Abdia (ii. 64, 69, 70, &c).

^l Mod. Un. Hist. i. 331.

^m Ibid. 345 and 347.

ⁿ Ibid. 333—334.

^o Ibid. 354.

^p Ibid. 355.

^q Ibid. 361—362.

^r Ibid. 368.

^s Ibid. 367—368 and 370. See also Sale’s Discourse, p. 72, 73, 77, 79, 85, 87, 88, 89, 93, 95, 98, 100—101, 104, 106, 109, 110, 113, 114, 126, 127, 128, 133, 135, 136, 137, 140, 141, &c.

cidence of opinions, on sentiments not familiar to mankind in general, but of an extraordinary and devious nature in themselves; proves them to have been transmitted, from the one people to the other. And history now comes in to show, by whom they were transmitted. From the same son of Abraham did Mahomet equally receive, all those rites and customs of the Jews, which he has interwoven with his own imposture; and those wild and fantastical accounts, which he has given us of Heaven, of Angels, of Genii, and of Hell: many of them drawn from the recesses of rabbinical erudition, and all uniting to form a considerable part of his Koran^t. From him also he adopted the custom, which he enjoined to his followers *at first*, and which he continued to enjoin them *for several months*; of praying, like the Jews, with their faces towards JERUSALEM, in honour of the once-existing Temple there: even though his own countrymen were actually praying at the time, with their faces towards their own existing Temple at Mecca^u. Strong indeed and violent must have been the influence from without, upon his mind; that could thus counteract all the warm partialities of prejudice, and overbear all the energetick powers of policy, in his ever-working mind. But he proceeded even to a greater

^t Prideaux's Life, p. 42.

^u Ibid. p. 92—94, and Koran, ch. ii. p. 17, and ch. iii. p. 47.

length,

length, in opposition to both. In the very language of the Jews, and in direct contradiction to all the passions of his countrymen; he gave JERUSALEM, and not *Mecca*, the title of *the Holy City*, and *the City of the Prophets*. He once intended also, to have made JERUSALEM the grand center of his religion, by constituting it the chief place of worship for his followers, and by ordering all their pilgrimages to it; when *Mecca* was the center to his countrymen, already^x. He actually describes himself in the Koran, and is described by what is of *equal* authority with the Koran, the *Sonna* or Traditions concerning it; in that maddest of all mad fables, his night-journey from *Mecca*, to have been first carried miraculously to JERUSALEM; and to have *there* met all the Saints and Prophets of the Jews, particularly Abraham, Moses, and our Saviour. He met them, he pretended, at the gate of the modern building, which he ignorantly mistook for the antient temple, because it was popularly called, as it still is, the Temple of Solomon; but which only stood on the site of the Temple, and was in reality *a Christian church* at the moment. He went with them, he said, into *the principal oratory* in it; the modern church assuredly, like the neighbouring and probably coeval church of the Holy Sepulcher, having oratories or side-chapels within it; having them in the grand colonades of

^x Prideaux, p. 93. See also Koran, ch. xxi. p. 270.

Corinthian architecture, that encircle the body of the church; and having the principal one, in the ample space which has an extraordinary portal to it, at one of the angles: while the antient temple had none at all^y. And *there*, he affirmed, he united in prayer with them; and *thence* ascended by a ladder of light, to Heaven^z.

All shows the lively and vivid colouring, which the continued influence of this Jew preceptor for a course of ten years, threw over the imposture of Mahomet. It made Mahometanism a kind of wild and Jewish heresy in our religion, rather than a distinct religion itself. And it threw over all, no doubt, that wretched hue of Jewish *Unitarianism*, as this heresy is ridiculously denominated at times; which has covered over the doctrine, that Mahomet was taught originally by the Christians, the personal plurality in the essential unity of God, the existence of our Saviour as the WORD of God, and the procession of our Saviour as the WORD from God himself. This was taught him principally, we may be sure, by that Nestorian Monk of Syria; who is known to the West by the name of Sergius, and to the East

^y There were in the antient temple, chambers for bed-rooms, but no side-chapels. See a plan and description in Ant. Un. Hist. iv. p. 193 and 203—204. And see Pococke's Travels, ii. p. 14 and 16, plan and description, for what is now called Solomon's Temple, and for the church of the Sepulcher.

^z Prideaux, p. 54—55, Koran, ch. xvii. p. 227, and Mod. Un. Hist. i. 67—68 and 78.

by the appellation of Boheira; who is asserted by the Christians, to have been very assistant to him in the formation of his Koran; and is allowed by some of the Mahometans themselves, to have instructed him in the tenets of the Gospel. This man, being expelled from his monastery, and excommunicated from the church of Christ, for some great crime; fled to Mecca at the very *outset* of Mahomet as a prophet, and was entertained by the Impostor in his own house. There he instructed the Arabian in that grand principle of the Gospel, which Mahomet acknowledges without the slightest exception, to be the faith of *all* the Christians about him; the doctrine of the Trinity. Mahomet therefore knew of no Arians, among the followers of Jesus. He knew of none but worshippers of their Master, who considered our Saviour as a *companion* to God, and who *associated* our Saviour with God. The Monk thought exactly, as the whole church about Mahomet thought; and from him and them did the Impostor come to speak of God and of our Saviour, in the Christian language which he has used. And the Koran thus bears witness, to the relations of history. The influence of the Jew was now anticipated by the interest of the Christian, in the mind of Mahomet. The balance of Mahometanism was inclining strongly, in favour of truth and the Trinity. On such a nice point was suspended, the religious fate of millions of men through a long train of ages! At last the Jew
came,

came, and the scale sunk in favour of Arianism. Mahomet quarrelled with the Monk and with Orthodoxy. Being as sanguinary as he was sagacious, and as savage as he was sensual, he put the Monk to death. He set himself in a state of professed and pointed hostility, to the whole body of the Christians; as acknowledgers of our Saviour's Divinity, and as worshippers of a Trinity in the Godhead. And he has connected Arianism with Mahometanism, by a band of steel for ever.

In this manner has the spirit of Arian Heresy, successively marked the two grand systems of Judaism and the Koran, throughout their whole substance. It began with the Jews, and was taken up by the Mahometans. It was the spurious child of Judaism, and became the adopted brat of Mahometanism. And it now remains an evidence of Jewish perverseness, a proof of Mahometan stupidity; a defection from

^a Koran, ch. xvi. p. 224. a note, Mod. Un. Hist. i. 25 and 318—319, and better than either, Prideaux, p. 44—47 and 15, from Richard, &c. See a mistake therefore in St. John of Damascus, who makes Mahomet to have conversed with Arian Christians (Mod. Un. Hist. i. p. 319), in opposition to the plain evidence of the Koran itself. See also Koran, ch. iii. p. 44, ch. iv. p. 67 and 75, ch. v. p. 92, ch. vi. p. 100, ch. ix. p. 153, ch. xvii. p. 237, and ch. xxii. p. 276, &c. for what are in Mahomet's language called Companions to God, and for those who in the same language Associate beings with God. And in Discourse, p. 64, Mr. Sale allows, concerning the assistance lent to Mahomet in composing the Koran; that "Dr. Prideaux has given *the most probable account of this matter*, though "chiefly from Christian writers."

the Law, a rebellion against the Gospel; and only then in its proper and natural place, when it is united with the glaring contradictions, with the wild blunders, with the naked sensualities, and with the licensed perjuries, of the Koran^b.

CHAPTER

^b Mr. Lesley published an address from the Socinians of England, to the Mahometan ambassador of Morocco in the reign of Charles the second; "a rarity," he says, "which I take to be so, because of the difficulty I had to obtain it;" and "a copy of which I have from unquestionable hands." In this they declare themselves, to be "of that sect of Christians, that are called Unitarians; who first of all do both in our own names, and in that of a multitude of our persuasion, heartily salute and congratulate your excellency and all that are with you, as *votaries* and *fellow-worshippers* of that sole supreme Deity of the Almighty Father and Creator." "We—," they add, "with our Unitarian Brethren were in all ages exercised, to defend with our pens the faith of one Supreme God (without personalities or pluralities); *as he hath raised your Mahomet to do the same with the sword, as a scourge on those idolizing Christians.*" And "of late years in Europe," they subjoin, "stood up the pious and noble personage *Faustus Socinus*, and his *Polonian association* of learned personages, that writ many volumes against *that* and *other* sprung-up errors among Christians" (Theol. Works, i. 205, 217, 207—210, and 217). Such a detection as this publication made, of a confederacy avowed between the Socinians and the Mahometans; naturally raised some emotions of shame, on the cheek of Socinianism in this island. The authenticity of the address was denied. The whole was said to be an *invention* of Mr. Lesley. But to any one who knew the character of Lesley, a man in the first rank of honour for probity and for judgment; nothing was requisite in addition to his testimony. Yet a large addition has been happily made by Bishop Horsley. The original letter is in the library at Lambeth, with this attestation to it and to three other papers. "These," it says, "are the original papers, which a cabal of Socinians

CHAPTER THE FIFTH.

— I. —

ARIANISM thus appears to be the revolting perverseness of Judaism, in its origin. It first made its entry into the world, from that accursed spirit of opposition to Heaven, for which the Jews soon ex-

“nians in London offered to present to the embassadour of the king
“of Fez and Morocco, when he was taking leave of England.
“August 1682. The said embassadour refused to receive them, after
“having understood that they concerned religion. The agent of the
“Socinians was Monsieur Verze*. Sir Charles Cottrell, Kn.
“Mr. of the Cerem. then præsent, desired he might have them;
“which was graunted: and he brought and gave them to me
“Thomas Tenison, then Vicar of St. Martin’s in the Fields, Middl.”
(Tracts in controversy, &c. p. 272—273). The disgraceful fact, therefore, is too plain. But, however the Socinians may consider Mahomet, as “the scourge of God upon the idolizing Christians” who worship Christ; yet Mahomet would disown *them* for his disciples, even in the article of the Trinity. He who, with Bishop Clayton, considered our Saviour and the Holy Ghost to be the Angels Michael and Gabriel; would equally with the Bishop have disclaimed the Socinian impiety, of making our Saviour a mere man, and of reducing the Holy Ghost into a mere quality. The truth is, that even Mahomet himself, weak and wicked as he was, never ventured out into the high blasphemies of Socinianism. He was merely an Arian. And the Arians alone can claim him for their confederate. *Go now, thou Arian, and shake hands with thy brother of the Koran.*

* Two were intended. See p. 209, “two single philosophers,” and p. 211, “us two.”

changed

changed situations with the Gentiles; for which they were cast off by God, as the Gentiles had been before; have continued cast off, for nearly the same period of time that the Gentiles were; and will continue, we know, till they return to their first faith, return to Messiah their Prince, and prostrate themselves in an agony of repentance, before their crucified Lord and God.

Many of the Jews however, from the natural impulse of their original principles, leaned strongly to Christianity at first. Many stepped boldly forward, to profess it. But some of these came to it, as we have seen in the authors of the Patriarchal Testaments, of the second Book of Esdras, and of the Book of Wisdom; with rabbinical extravagances of sentiment. And others came with a portion of that Arianism, which had been long creeping into the minds of individuals, and was openly professed at last by the whole nation. That this had been creeping into their minds before, is clear from a remarkable incident in the life of our Saviour, which has been little understood hitherto.

The existence of such a sect as the Sadducees among the Jews, is a wretchedly illustrious proof of the perverseness of the human passions, and of the inefficacy of the human reason to resist it. The Sadducees were confined entirely to the wealthy^a.

^a Josephus Ant. Jud. xiii. x. 6. p. 588. Τῶν μὲν Σαδδουκαίων τῆς εὐπορίας μόνον πειθομένων.

They relished the pleasures and the grandeur of life, their hearts became centered in them, and they wished for nothing beyond them. Such was the mean and groveling temper of their souls! But, though they did not wish for any Heaven beyond the verge of this life, yet they dreaded a Hell. Hope may be easily subdued in the bosom, by an acquired and cherished ignobility of spirit. But fear cannot. A heavier weight must be laid upon it, to keep down its natural elasticity, and prevent it from springing back in the face of the sinner. Reason must be made an accomplice with passion, in the work. Principles of unbelief must be admitted. And the whole man must be bent backward, into infidelity. So were the Sadducees bent. They learned to say, "that there is no resurrection, neither Angel, nor Spirit^b." They particularly denied what they particularly feared. They "annihilated the "soul with the body^c." They denied "the continuance of the soul" after the death of the body, "and the punishments and rewards of futurity^d." They thus sunk into that horrible infidelity, to which the corrupted heart of man naturally gravitates, and towards which it is perpetually drawing down the reluctant intellect. But such a system as this will

^b Acts xxiii. 8.

^c Josephus Ant. Jud. xviii. 1. 4. p. 793. Σαδδουκαίοις δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ὁ λόγος συναφανίζει τοῖς σώμασι.

^d Josephus Bell. Jud. ii. viii. 14. p. 1065. Ψυχῆς τε τὴν διαμονὴν καὶ τὰς καθ' ἑαυτὴν τιμωρίας καὶ τιμὰς ἀναιρῶσι.

not only *originate*, among the wealthy. It will long be *confined* to them. The great source of infidelity is only with *them*. The Sadducees, therefore, were comparatively few in number, as late as the days of Josephus; and the multitude was all found in their principles of belief, and all attached to the opposite sect of the Pharisees^e. Yet these few were men of consequence. They were, says Josephus expressly, “the first in honours^f.” They were men of the greatest authority in the state. The Scriptural history of our religion accordingly informs us, that Infidelity had even taken its stand by the altar of God, and that it even went into the Holy of Holies beyond. “Then *the High-priest* rose up,” it tells us, “and *all they that were with him*, which is THE SECT “OF THE SADDUCEES; and were filled with indignation,” at the prevalence of Christianity^g. But, such was the just unpopularity of their Epicurean notions, that they were obliged to conceal them. In the dignities which they hold, adds Josephus, “nothing (as I may say) is done by them; for when “they come into high offices, unwillingly and of “necessity they accede to the tenets of the Pharisees, because they would not otherwise be tolerated

^e Ant. Jud. xviii. 4. p. 793. Εἰς ὀλίγους τε ἀνδρας ὅλος ὁ λόγος ἀφίκετο, and 3. δι’ αὐτὰ τοῖς τε δημοῖς πιθανότατοι τυγχάνουσι [οἱ φαρισαῖοι]; and xiii. x. 6. p. 588. Τῶν μὲν Σαδδουκαίων—το—δημοτικῶν ἔχοντες ἐπομένους αὐτοῖς ἐχόντων, τῶν δὲ Φαρισαίων το πλῆθος συμμαχόν ἐχόντων.

^f Ibid. 793. Τῶν μὲντοι πρώτους τοῖς ἀξιώμασι.

^g Acts v. 17.

“by the multitude^h.” Yet they were known, in spite of all their concealments. There were some, who were not in any dignities, that made this hypocrisy necessary to them; and who, therefore, avowed their sentiments openly. Such we see continually, in the Evangelick and Apostolick histories. We find them once in the latter, forming nearly an equal balance to the Pharisees, in the great council of the nationⁱ. Even in their highest dignity, they were known to St. Luke at another time. And they were particularly pointed out under all their disguises, by our Saviour upon a third occasion.

Having come to our Saviour with that objection of theirs to a resurrection, which smells so rank of the pert presumption of a modern Infidel, and is founded so similarly on a mere supposition, and a false one too; and having been exposed for their folly, to the full conviction of the orthodox multitude^k: some of those, who were *outwardly* Pharisees and *inwardly* Sadducees, *came in to the aid* of the baffled Sadducees, and endeavoured *to avenge their defeat* by a victory of their own. “When the Pharisees had heard,” says St. Matthew, “that he had put the Sadducees to silence; they,” being (as St. Luke tells us) “certain of the Scribes,” “were

^h Josephus, *ibid.* 793. Πρασσειται τε απ αυτων ηδεν ως ειπειν· οπου γαρ επ’ αρχας παρελθοιεν, ακησιως μεν και καί’ αναγκας προσχωρησι δ’ εν οις ο φαρισαιος λεγει, δια το μη αλλως ανεκτως γενεσθαι τοις πληθεσιν.

ⁱ Acts xxiii. 6—10.

^k Mat. xxii. 23.

“gathered

“gathered together,” having now assembled for the purpose. “Then one of them, which was a lawyer,” and therefore (as St. Mark informs us he was) “one of the Scribes,” “asked him a question, “*tempting* him¹.” This *tempting* question being answered by our Saviour, to the satisfaction of the very Scribes themselves; our Saviour turned upon the Scribes, and put a question to *them*. “How say the Scribes, that Christ is the Son of David^m?” “What think ye of Christ? Whose Son is he? They say unto him, The Son of David. He saith unto them, How then doth David in spirit call him Lord, saying, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool. If David then call him Lord, how is he his Sonⁿ?” And as St. Matthew adds, though St. Luke subjoins the latter half of the remark to the question immediately preceding, and it is therefore applicable to both; the immediately preceding question being the last of the sort, ever put to our Saviour; and the confusion occasioned by our Saviour’s replies, being greatly enhanced by his own question: “No man was able to answer him a word, neither durst any man (from that day forth) ask him any more questions^o.”

“Lord God of Israel,” cries Solomon at the de-

¹ Mat. xxii. 34—35, Mark xii. 28, and Luke xx. 39.

^m Mark xii. 35.

ⁿ Mat. xxii. 42—46.

^o Luke xx. 40, Mat. xxii. 45.

dication of the Temple to God, "there is no God like thee, in Heaven above or on Earth beneath; —*thou*, even *thou only*, knowest the *hearts* of all the children of men ^p." From his communion of Godhead with the Father therefore, did our Saviour derive that intimate acquaintance with the heart of man, by which he knew the real character of these Pharisaick lawyers or scribes; and knew the men to be such, as, in the predominancy of their earthly ideas, had sunk the Creator in their Messiah entirely out of sight, and brought him forward to their view in his created nature only. "What think ye of Christ?" he asks; "Whose Son is he? *They* say unto him, The Son of David." Knowing them thus to be Sadducees in the disguise of Pharisees, he instantly convinces them of his being their Messiah and their God, by speaking to their *inward* sentiments; and at the same time directs their understandings to the perception of their Messiah's Godhead, by an appeal to their acknowledged Scriptures concerning him. He thus addresses himself to their

^p 1 Kings viii. 23 and 39. So likewise 1 Chron. xxviii. 9, "The Lord *searcheth all hearts*, and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts;" and 2 Chron. vi. 30, "Thou only knowest the hearts of the children of men." This is very different from that miraculous "Discerning of Spirits," which the first Christians possessed (1 Cor. xii. 10), and which refers only to the knowing whether a man was inspired or not. And it entirely agrees, with what is said of our Saviour in the Revelations. "These things saith the Son of God,—I am He which *searcheth the reins and the hearts*" (Rev. ii. 18, 23).

minds

minds and to their spirits, in the same moment of time, and with one awful flash of conviction lightening full and bright against them.

Nor is this heavenly species of oratory, this mode of God's own management with men, confined to the present passage. We see it in various others. We find the Sun of Divinity, thus radiating out from our Saviour on every side. We view him particularly appealing again, to the secret sentiments of these very "Scribes and Pharisees;" and urging in the same moment again, a miracle performed before them. "The Scribes and the Pharisees," as St. Luke assures us, "began to *reason* saying, "Who is this "which speaketh blasphemies? Who can forgive "sins, but God alone? But, when Jesus perceived "their *thoughts*, he answering said unto them, What " *reason*, ye in your *hearts*? Whether is easier to say, "Thy sins be forgiven thee, or to say, Rise up "and walk? But that ye may know, that the Son "of Man hath power upon earth to forgive sins, " (he said unto the sick of the palsy) I say unto "thee, Arise, and take up thy couch, and go into "thine house⁹." This double application must have carried all the force of DIVINITY with it, to their hearts and souls.

But we have another exhibition of DIVINITY, which I wish to lay equally before my reader; be-

⁹ Luke v. 21—24.

cause it has been almost as little understood as my present point, and because it corroborates my present reasoning upon it. These very "Scribes and Pharisees watched him," says St. Luke again, "whether he would heal on the Sabbath-day; that they might find an accusation against him. But he knew their *thoughts*, and said to the man which had the withered hand, Rise up, and stand forth in the midst. And he arose and stood forth. Then said Jesus unto them, I will ask you one thing, Is it lawful on the Sabbath-days to do good, or *to do evil?* to save life, or *to destroy it*?" But what is the meaning of this question? It has a *private* and *personal* meaning, like the other concerning Christ. It is, like that, addressed to the retired thoughts of these "Scribes and Pharisees." It alludes to the secret ideas which were beginning to rise in their minds, of putting our Saviour to death. Our Saviour applied this probing question to their diseased hearts, in order to show them he knew the corruption, that was gathering there. Accordingly they were struck dumb, with this Divine Appeal to what was passing privately in their own bosoms. "They held their peace," says St. Mark^s. Of them, as of those in the first passage, "no man was able to answer him a word." They were silenced, by being convicted; but they were not converted. Our Saviour therefore "look-

^r Luke vi. 7—9.^s Mark iii. 4.

“ ed round about on them with anger, being grieved
 “ for the hardness of their hearts¹.” He then per-
 formed the miracle. And then “ they were filled
 “ with madness;” “ went forth; and straightway
 “ took counsel with the Herodians against him,
 “ *how* they might destroy him².” Their spirits
 kindled into madness, with the shame of detection;
 and the murderous conceptions of their minds, now
 flamed out into real resolutions of murder.

Our Saviour thus addresses his three questions, to
 the private and concealed sentiments of the same
 persons; and they came like three rays of light,
 darted down from the opening Heavens, to disclose
 the dark cells and caverns of their bosoms. But
 the Scribes, whom he questioned concerning the
 Christ, and whom he rebuked by his heart-directed
 address to their secret and Sadducean spirit of infi-
 delity, thought very differently from the main body
 of the Jews. *These* I have already shown with an
 overpowering body of evidence, to have expected a
 mixed and compounded Being, a God with the
 visage of a man, in their Messiah. But *those*, in
 the prevalence of sense over faith; and in the gene-
 ral triumph of earthliness, over the spiritual hopes
 and spiritual fears of futurity; had reduced their ideas
 concerning him, to the humble standard of created
 infirmity. This difference between them, we see

¹ Mark iii. 5.

² Luke vi. 11, and Mark iii. 6.

strongly

strongly intimated to us in the history; when, as St. Mark directly subjoins, “the common people heard him gladly^x.” They heard, they understood, and received with gladness, what was so consentaneous to all their notions of the Messiah. They expected him to be a God; and, as such, to be THE LORD of David, to sit at THE RIGHT HAND of God the Father, and TO SIT THERE till God the Father had brought all his enemies in subjection to him. And they were pleased to see those “Doctors of the law,” who in the sensualized state of their spirits, and in the growing grossness of their intellects from it, were debasing their Messiah into a mere “Son of David;” exposed for their Sadducean and low-souled notions by *him*, who could read the Scriptures by the light of Heaven, and could point them to their understandings with a beam of Heaven.

Those notions will appear hereafter, to have been only Arian; the Socinianism of the Sadducees, meeting with the orthodoxy of the Pharisees in the breasts of these Jews; and so forming a middle kind of system between them, that shared a little the rectitude of orthodoxy, and inherited a little the obliquity of Socinianism, not so bad as the latter, yet too bad not to be thought very much so by the former^y. Arianism thus began to flow among the Jews, in the days of our Saviour. But the stream

^x Mark xii. 37.

^y See Section 3d. of this chapter.

had then no regular channel. It moved only in secret rills. It strayed under sunless thickets, or through subterraneous passages. And the multitude saw it dropping at times, from some rocks near the fountain-head of their faith; with an aversion proportioned to their belief of the contrary, and with a disgust equal to their gladness in receiving that for the truth. But these infected rills gradually found their way into the fountain itself, and carried their tincture with them through all the current. The general body of the Scribes learned from the few of our Saviour's days, to think nothing of those Scriptures which announced a God in their Messiah, and to think every thing of those which proclaimed him to be a man. By this principle of self-deceit, which has been the grand engine of Arian imposition in every age since, the few became the generality. Then the orthodox multitude of our Saviour's cotemporaries, were drawn off from their orthodoxy by the same sort of fraud, and settled in this new and heretical faith. And the whole nation of the Jews became Arians.

Nor did their Arianism stop here. At first it
 “ arose a little cloud out of the sea, like a man's
 “ hand.” But in a short time “ the Heaven was
 “ black with clouds and wind, and there was a
 “ great rain².” All the Jewish horizon was in-

² 1 Kings xviii. 44—45.

volved in the gloom. It even spread a deep shade of the darkness, over the Christian. Before the end of the first century, as we have already seen, this heresy had already infected the Jews very deeply. Before the beginning of the second, as we shall immediately see, it was conveyed by the Jews to the infant church of the Christians. The FIRST Arians that ever existed under the Gospel, were two JEWS. And their names have been consigned to an infamous immortality, for the fact; EBION and CERINTHUS.

— II. —

THE name of Ebion was given to the former, by the Christians; or rather perhaps had been previously given, and only was allusively played upon by them; these knowing him as a Jew by a Jewish appellation, and denominating him EBION or THE POOR CREATURE, in contempt of his doctrine^a. His followers, says Irenæus about A. D. 1167, “ reject the Apostle Paul, calling him an Apostate “ from the Law; are circumcised; and continue in “ those customs which are according to the Law,

^a Eusebius Hist. iii. 27. p. 122. Λελογχασι προσηγορίας, τὰ Εβιωναιων ονομασίᾳ, τὴν τῆς διανοίας πτωχείαν αὐτῶν υποφαινόντες. Ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐπικλην ὁ πτωχὸς παρ’ Εβραίοις ὀνομαζέται. But Epiphanius says, that this was his proper name; τῷ οὐκ Εβίων ἐκαλεῖτο (Hær. xxx. 17. p. 141).

“ and

“ and in the Jewish modes of living; so as to worship Jerusalem, for the very house of God^b.” This is the plainest of all evidences, for their founder being a Jew, when he became a Christian; and for his retaining all his Judaical principles, along with his Christianity. The Ebionites, adds Eusebius, speaking of them as then extinct, “ thought they “ had absolute need of the observances of the Law; “ thought all the epistles of the Apostle [Paul] were “ to be rejected, pronouncing him an Apostate from “ the Law; used only the Gospel which is called “ that of the Hebrews, making little account of the “ rest; and kept the Sabbath, with the other ceremonies of the Jews, equally as the Jews themselves^c.” The Gospel according to the Hebrews, was a pretended copy of St. Matthew’s Gospel in Hebrew, and very different from it^d. Epiphanius

^b Irenæus Adv. Hær. i. 26. p. 102—103. Oxon. Grabe. “ Qui “ autem dicuntur Ebionæi,—Apostolum Paulum recusant, Apostata tam eum Legis dicentes;—et circumciduntur, ac perseverant in “ his consuetudinibus quæ sunt secundum Legem, et Judaico characterē vitæ, uti et Hierosolymam adorent, quasi Domus sit Dei.” The latter part of this passage is well explained, by another passage in Barnabas’s Epistle; which speaks of the *Jews* trusting not in God, but *in the Temple, as the House of God*. See note in Irenæus.

^c Eusebius ii. 27. p. 121. Δειν δε παντως αυτοις της νομικης θρησκείας.—στοι δε τε μεν Αποστολη πασας τας επιτολας αρνητας ηγνυντο ειναι δειν, Αποστατην αποκαλυντες αυτον τον νομω ευαγγελιω δε μονω τη καθ’ Εβραιους λεγομενω χρωμενοι, των λοιπων σμικρον εποιουντο λογον. Και το μεν Σαββατον, και την Ιερουσαλην αλλην αγωγην, ομοιως εκεινοις παραφυλαττον.

^d Grabe’s Spicilegium i. 21—25.

accordingly

accordingly informs us, that “ it was the Gospel of
 “ St. Matthew, or (as they called it) the Hebrew
 “ Gospel, *not compleat at all, but interpolated and*
 “ *mutilated*.” Nor let one of my readers, in the
 mad humour predominant among some at present,
 of exalting Hereticks into Apostles; suspect this
 Gospel, because it was written in Hebrew, to be
 that very original, which St. Matthew is by a strange
 tradition asserted to have written in Hebrew, and
 which somebody we know not whom translated into
 the present Greek^f. With what an unfriendly as-
 pect such a notion must look, upon the authenticity
 of the present code of Revelation; is obvious in it-
 self. But the notion is ungrounded and false. Many
 arguments have been adduced, that sufficiently show

^e Epiphanius Hær. xxx. 13. p. 137. Εν τῷ γὰρ παρ’ αὐτοῖς εὐαγ-
 γελίῳ κατὰ Ματθαίον ὀνομαζομένῳ, ἔχῃ οὐκ ὅλῳ δὲ πληρεστάτῳ, ἀλλὰ νενοθευ-
 μένῳ καὶ ηὐρητισμένῳ, Ἑβραϊκὸν δὲ τὸ τοῦτο καλεῖσιν.

^f The Nazarenes, Epiphanius says, have “ the Gospel according
 “ to Matthew compleat in Hebrew,” ἔχῃσι δὲ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαίον εὐ-
 αγγέλιον πληρεστάτον Ἑβραϊστί. “ For this is evidently preserved yet
 “ with them, as it was written originally in Hebrew characters,”
 παρ’ αὐτοῖς γὰρ σαφὲς τὸ τοῦτο, καθὼς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγράφη Ἑβραϊκοῖς γραμμα-
 σιν, ἐτι σωζεται (p. 124). The Nazarene Gospel in Hebrew, there-
 fore, was very different from the Ebionite Gospel in the same lan-
 guage; this being *not* “ compleat at all,” ἔχῃ οὐκ ὅλῳ δὲ πληρεστάτῳ, and
that being quite “ compleat,” πληρεστάτον. We shall accordingly
 find the *faith* of these two parties of hereticks, to be essentially differ-
 ent in one point. And the difference in the two copies of the pre-
 tended original, does at once destroy the identity of them and
 of it.

it to be so^g. But the strongest of all has been overlooked. This is an internal demonstration; and consists of some notices in the Gospel, that are incidental and yet significative. In the Gospel of St. John, which is *confessed* to have been originally written in Greek, we have three intimations of its having been written, in a language different from the Hebrew; when it speaks of one place, “which is called “in the *Hebrew* tongue, Bethesda,” of another, “that is called the Pavement, but in the *Hebrew*, “Gabbatha,” and of a third, “the Place of a scull, “which is called in the *Hebrew*, Golgotha^h.” In the same Gospel we have also these additional evidences, of the Greek being its original language; “Rabboni, which is to say, Master;” “Siloam, “which is by interpretation, Sent;” “Cephas, “which is by interpretation, a Stone;” “the Messiah, which is being interpreted, the Christ;” and “Rabbi, which is to say being interpreted, “Masterⁱ.” That these evince the Gospel not to have been written in Hebrew, is apparent at the first glance; as otherwise the interpretation could never have been annexed. *This* in a *Hebrew* text must have run in these impossible forms, “Rabbi, “which is to say being interpreted, *Rabbi*,” and

^g See Whitby's Prefatory Discourse to his Comment on the Gospels, p. xlii—xlvii. edit. 1703.

^h John v. 2, xix. 13, and xix. 17.

ⁱ John xx. 16, ix. 7, i. 42, i. 41, and i. 38.

“ the

“ the Messias, which is being interpreted, the *Mef-*
 “ *fias*.” We have the same sort of evidence, lying
 obvious in the Acts of the Apostles, and in these
 notices there; “ Aceldama, that is to say, the Field
 “ of Blood,” “ Barnabas, which is being inter-
 “ preted, the Son of Consolation,” “ Tabitha,
 “ which by interpretation is called Dorcas,” and
 “ Elymas the Sorcerer, for so is his [Barjesus’s]
 “ name by interpretation ^k.” We have two evi-
 dences of this unnoticed nature, even in the Epistle
 to the Hebrews; and in that passage, “ Melchisedec
 “ —first being by interpretation King of Righte-
 “ ousness, and after that also King of Salem, which
 “ is King of Peace ^l.” We have several also in the
 Gospel of St. Mark; which is *confessed* equally with
 that of St. John, to have been originally composed
 in Greek. Some passages present us with these ex-
 planations, of three Hebrew names; “ Boanerges,
 “ which is, the Sons of Thunder,” and “ Corban,
 “ that is to say, a Gift,” and “ the place Golgotha,
 “ which is, being interpreted, the Place of a Skull;”
 and with these comments upon Hebrew clauses,
 “ Talitha Cumí, which is being interpreted, Dam-
 “ sel (I say unto thee) Arise,” and “ Ephphatha,
 “ that is, Be opened,” and “ Eloi, Eloi, lama
 “ sabachthani, which is, being interpreted, My
 “ God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me ^m.”

^k Acts i. 19, iv. 36, ix. 36, xiii. 8.

^l Hebrews vii. 2.

^m Mark iii. 17, vii. xi, and xv. 22, v. 41, vii. 34, and xv. 34.

And

And we have the very same evidence on the face of St. Matthew's Gospel, for its never having been written in the Hebrew language; and for its equal appearance with the other Gospels, with the Acts of the Apostles, and with all the Epistles, originally in Greek. "Emmanuel," says the Evangelist from the prophecy of Isaiah; but, instead of returning immediately to his narration, stops short, and explains the Hebrew word thus, "which being interpreted is, God with usⁿ." This is at the commencement of his Gospel. Near the close he has two similar explanations, and exactly in the manner of St. Mark on the same occasions; "a place called Golgotha, that is to say, the Place of a Skull;" and "Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani, that is to say, My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me^o." Accordingly these annexed and expository clauses are repeatedly omitted, in that translation of the New Testament which has been made into Syriack, and which consequently gives us back the image of the Hebrew varied from itself; all being omitted of necessity where the Syriack is not varied from the Hebrew, some being retained where the variation would scarcely allow an admission, and not half of the passages above actually preserving the interpretation^p. And that Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew

ⁿ Mat. i. 23.

^o Mat. xxvii. 33 and 46.

^p John xix. 13. "In loco qui vocatur Pavimentum Lapidum, Hebræicè autem dicitur Gaphiphata;" xix. 17. "In locum qui

Matthew therefore, which the Ebionites had in their possession; could have been nothing else, in all such parts

“vocatur Cranium, Hebræis autem dicitur Gagultha;” xx. 16.
 “Dixit ei Hebraicè Rabbuni, quod dicitur Præceptor.” Acts i. 19.
 “Vocatus est ager ille linguâ regionis Chakel-demah, cujus interpretatio est, Ager Sanguinis;” iv. 36. “Qui cognominatus est Bar-nabba ab Apostolis, quod exponitur Filius Consolationis;” xiii. 8. “Magicam artem exercens Bar-schuma, cujus nomen exponitur Elimaus.” Hebrews vii. 2. “Exponitur autem nomen ejus [Melchisedec], Rex Justitiæ; et rursus, Rex erat Salem, quod est Rex Pacis.” Mark iii. 17. “Nomen Benai-Regschi, quod est Filii Fragoris;” xv. 22. “Gagultha locum, qui interpretatur Cranium;” xv. 34. “Il, Il, Lemana Schevaktani, quod est, Deus Meus, Deus Meus, ad quid deseruisti me?” Mat. i. 23. “Ammanuel, quod exponitur, Nobiscum est Deus noster;” xxvii. 33. “Locum qui dicitur Gagultha, quod interpretatur Cranium.”

And the clauses of interpretation in John ix. 7, i. 42, i. 41, and i. 38, “Rabbi, which is to say, being interpreted, Master,” are omitted, though a passage exactly similar to the last, “Rabboni, which is to say, Master,” in xx. 16, is retained. Those in Acts ix. 36, vii. xi, v. 41, vii. 34, and that in Mat. xxvii. 46, “Eli, Eli,” &c., are equally omitted; though that in Mark xv. 34, “Eloi, Eloi,” &c. is retained. All shows the Syriack to have omitted them, because the expositions were so consonant to the words expounded; to have retained them, whenever it well could; and to have sometimes omitted the very clauses which at other times it retained, from the very nearness of identity. And from the express mention of the *Hebrew* tongue in John v. 2, xix. 13, 17, and 20, in Acts xxi. 40, and xxvi. 14, in Luke xxiii. 38, and in Rev. ix. 11. and xvi. 16; from the repeated interpretations of *Hebrew* words above; and from the repeated denomination of the Jews as *Hebrews*, in Acts vi. 1, 2 Cor. xi. 22, and Phil. iii. 5; the Hebrew language, whatever is said to the contrary, appears *still to have been spoken by the Jews, after the Babylonish captivity, and even down to the final subversion of their state*; with only such variations, as were sure to happen in so long a course of time, either in words themselves, or in the

parts of it as harmonized with the present Gospel, but, like the Syriack version to which I have referred, a mere version of it from the present Greek into Hebrew; *this* being the mother language, and *that* the daughter.

But what precisely were the opinions, of the Judaizing Christian who was the founder of the Ebionites, concerning the Godhead of our Saviour? He was plainly, in point of time, the FIRST of all Christian Arians. It is difficult indeed to distinguish from *chronological* authority, whether Carpocrates, Cerinthus, or Ebion, was the first. They were all three cotemporaries ^p. But circumstances often disclose, what history is too indistinct to tell. "The antients," says Eusebius, "familiarily denominated his followers Ebionites, *because* they

the mode of pronouncing them. Thus the very same words are recited by St. Matthew, "Eli, Eli, lama faba^cthani," and by St. Mark, "Eloi, Eloi, lama faba^cthani;" *faba^cthani* being the word in the psalm then; Ελωι being more properly written Ελοι, and actually pronounced *Eli*; and all being spoken by our Saviour.

^p Irenæus mentions them in the order of the text; Epiphanius in the same; but Eusebius, omitting Carpocrates, speaks of Ebion, and then of Cerinthus. Epiphanius also says of Ebion, with a view to these and other hereticks: ετός γαρ ο Εβίων συγχρονος μιν τῶτων υπηρχεν, απ' αυτων δε συν αυτοις ορμαται (p. 125). And, as he says of some of these hereticks, Ναζωραιο, καθεξης τουτοις επονται, αμα τε αυλοις οντες, η και προ αυτων, η μετ' αυτες, ομως συγχροτοι· ε γαρ ακριβεστερον δυναμαι εξειπειν, τινες τινας διεδεξαντο (p. 116—117). Carpocrates denied the Godhead of our Saviour, as they did (p. 102); but appears from Eusebius's omission of him, to have been only inconsiderable when compared with them.

“ had low and poor ideas concerning Christ ⁹.” They branded him and his followers with this opprobrious appellation, for the poorness of their sentiments concerning our Saviour. He and they, therefore, were the first that came forth into the eye of the Christian world, with the alarming stamp of Arianism on their brow. “ For,” as Eusebius adds, “ they considered Christ as a mere man, begotten by the union of Mary and her husband ^r.” But, as Eusebius subjoins, “ there were others besides these, who had the same appellation, who *escaped the extravagant absurdity of the preceding*, “ not denying the Lord to be born of a *Virgin* and *the Holy Ghost*; but who, like them too, not confessing him to have PRE-EXISTED as God the WORD and WISDOM, were involved in the impiety of the former, especially as they also laboured equally with those, to keep up carefully the bodily observances of the law ^s.” And this shows the spirit of Arian Judaism, to have been the impregnating principle of Ebion’s doctrines; and to

⁹ Eusebius p. 121. Εβιωναιὺς τέτῳς οἰκῶς ἐπιφημίζον οἱ πρῶτοι, πτωχῶς καὶ ταπεινῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοξαζοντας.

^r P. 121. Λίτον μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ κοῖνον ἠγόντο, — εἰς ἀνδρὸς τε ποικωνίας καὶ τῆς Μαρίας γεγεννημένον.

^s P. 121. Ἀλλοὶ δὲ παρὰ τέτῳς, τῆς αὐτῆς οὐτὲς προσηγορίας, τῆς μὲν τῶν εἰρημενῶν ἐκτοπὸν διεδιδρασκὸν ἀτοπίαν, ἐκ παρθένου καὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος μὴ ἀρνημένοι γεγονέναι τὸν Κύριον· ὁ μὲν εἶθ’ ὁμοίως καὶ ἑτοί, προὑπαρχειν αὐτὸν, θεὸν λόγον ὄντα καὶ σοφίαν, ὁμολογούτες, τῇ τῶν προτέρων περιετρεπόντο δυσσεβείᾳ· μαλιστα ὅτε καὶ τὴν σωματικὴν περὶ τοῦ νόμου λατρείαν, ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις, περιεπεῖν ἐσπεύδαζον.

have

have been received and felt by *both* the divisions of his followers, by one of them with an absurdity simply Arian, and by the other with an extravagance fermented into Socinianism.

When that race of Jewish infidels arose, which are denominated Sadducees; their thoughts must have been some time working in their minds, before they could have settled down into those lees and dregs of all rational sentiment, a denial of the immortality of the soul, and a consequent disbelief of future rewards and punishments. They must have gone in a regular process, to this dreadful extremity. They first perhaps questioned the *nature* of that immortality, then found themselves unable to fix it upon any spiritual principle, resorted therefore to a material one for the purpose, and at last resolved the whole into nothing. Some such movements must have been made by their disquisitive intellects, to bring them down into a positive denial of its immortality. In the same mode of retrograde progression, must they equally have descended in their opinions, concerning the nature of their Messiah. The sentiments of some in the days of our Saviour, and of all in the time of Trypho, seem to have been, that he was to be a mere man, a mere Son of David. But they could never have come from that belief, which was so prevalent among the people in our Saviour's time, and which must therefore have been

originally their own; at one leap to this. The body can never bear to pass, from the torrid zone at once into the frigid. Nor is the temperament of the mind at all different. The Jews therefore could never have reduced our Saviour in one act of their minds, from God the Son of God into a mere Son of David. Some intermediate operation must have taken place. The mind must have rested, in its descent with the Messiah from the throne of the Godhead, upon some middle point of existence; before it could have reached that lowest round of the ladder, a state of absolute humanity. Arianism must thus have preceded Socinianism, in this grand revolution of the Jewish creed. *Arianism and not Socinianism*, therefore, was probably the opinion of those, who had received a taint of Sadducean infidelity in the days of our Saviour. Even when Socinianism seems to have been predominant among the Jews at the time of Trypho, in the expectation of a mere man; in all probability they were only Arians. They probably considered our Saviour to be a mere man, with an angel attached to him. When some have continued in the faith of their fathers, and through all ages have acknowledged the Deity of their Messiah; others, no doubt, have only reduced their God into an Angel, and have abhorred the idea of levelling him with man, as much as our Arians abhor Socinianism at present.

And

And I shall soon show this to have been actually the case. With Arianism, Ebion came into the church. He denied our Saviour to "have PRE-EXISTED as " GOD the WORD and WISDOM." He asserted him to have been " born of a *Virgin* and *the Holy Ghost*." He thus coincided, with what his brother Jew taught Mahomet afterwards. But he coincided still more. He believed, like Mahomet, our Saviour to have been an Angel; and yet, like him, propounded his belief so faintly, that we know it by inference and deduction only. " Hebion," says Tertullian, " made our Saviour a man, yet " one who is plainly somewhat more glorious than " the prophets, so that *an Angel may be said to* " *have been in him*." And he therefore " escaped " *the extravagant absurdity* of those" among his followers, who afterwards assumed his name, and yet, in opposition to the genuine disciples of Ebion, " considered Christ as a mere man, begotten by the " union of Mary and her husband x."

Ebion

u Tertullian de Carne Christi xiii. p. 319. " Constituit Jesum " *planè prophetis aliquò gloriosorem, ut ita in illo Angelus fuisset* " *dicatur.*"

x " Remember in the Book of the Koran the story of Mary ; " when she retired from her family to a place towards the east, and " took a veil to conceal herself from them ; and *we* sent our Spirit " Gabriel unto her, and he appeared unto her in the shape of a perfect man. She said, I fly for refuge unto the merciful God, that " he may defend me from thee ; if thou fearest him, thou wilt not

Ebion was thus the person, who brought Arianism into the bosom of Christianity. He is accordingly asserted in express terms by Theodoret, to have “*led* the phalanx” of the Christian Arians. Even the heresy of Arius himself is said by Alexander his Bishop, to be “the doctrine of *Ebion*, of Artemas, and of Paulus Samosatensis, now lately making a new insurrection against the religion of the church.” “We anathematize,” cries Damasus, Bishop of Rome, a little later than Alexander, “Photinus, who, renewing the heresy of *Ebion*,” the Socinian part that was taken up by some of his followers, “confesses our Lord Jesus Christ to be only from Mary.” And as it is of those

“approach me. He answered, Verily I am the messenger of thy Lord, and am sent to *give* thee a holy Son,” as the Holy Ghost of the Koran. “She said, How shall I have a Son, seeing *a man bath not touched me*, and I am no harlot? Gabriel replied, So shall it be; thy Lord saith, This is easy with *me*; and *we* will perform it, that *we* may ordain him for a sign unto men, and a mercy from *us*; for it is a thing which is decreed. Wherefore she conceived him.” Koran, ch. 19. p. 250. See also ch. 21. p. 272. The Mahometan commentators say, that “Gabriel,” as the Holy Ghost, “blew—, and his breath—caused the conception.” A note, p. 250. This passage, however, is another evidence that the Koran was taking an orthodox direction from the hand of Sergius, before the warping hand of Arianism was applied to it by Salon.

γ “Hæresis—eadem Ignatii ævo extitit ab Ebione profecta, et ab ipsius discipulis, et Nazaræis, atque Cerintho defensa, a Theodoto et Artemone postea resuscitata: Ταύτης δὲ τῆς φαλαγγος ἡρξεν Ἐβίων,—ut loquitur Theodoretus” (Pearson’s Vindiciæ Epist. Ignat. in Cotelerius’s Patres Apostolici, Le Clerc’s edition, vol. ii. part 2. p. 350):

those *worser* Ebionites, that Justin speaks in his dialogue with *Jews*, when he says, “there are some, O Friends, of *your* nation, who *confess him to be Christ*, but argue him to be a man off men^z;” so do the Apostolical Constitutions, pretending to be of the age of the Apostles, but refuting their pretensions by mistaking the later Ebionites for the elder, in their enumeration of heresies among the *Jews* particularize by name “the *Ebionites*, who have just now appeared among us, who will have the Son of God to be a mere man, generating him of the pleasure of marriage, and of the union between Joseph and Mary^a.” All shows Ebion in the opinion of the ages nearest to him, to have been the first upon the file of Arian hereticks among us. Such was the Jewish father of Arianism, in the church of Christianity; a man contemned by the great body of Christians, for the poverty of his un-

p. 350):—Η εναγχος επανατασα τη εκκλησιαστικη ευσεβεια διδασκαλια, Εβιωνος εστι και Αρτεμα, και ζηλος τε κατα Αντιοχειαν Παυλε τε Σαμοσατειως (Hist. Theodoret, i. 4. Reading. iii. 15):—and αναθεματιζομεν Φωτεινον, ος την τε Εβιωνος αιρεσιν ανακαινιζων, τον Κυριον ημων Ιησουν Χριστον μονον εκ της Μαρίας ωμολογει (v. xi. 209).

^z Justin, p. 267. Εισι τινες, ω φιλοι, ΗΜΕΤΕΡΟΥ [it should be, as is evinced by Bishop Bull, p. 346—347, and as the very form of the sentence shows, ΥΜΕΤΕΡΟΥ] γεννης, ομολογουντες αυτον Χριστον ειναι, ανθρωπον δε εξ ανθρωπων αποφαινομενοι. See Bull, p. 347—348, for restraining these words to the Ebionites.

^a Apost. Constit. vi. 6. in Cotelerius's Patres Apost. i. 333. Ος εφ ημων νυν φανεντες Εβιωναιοι, τον υιον τε θεου ψιλον ανθρωπον ειναι βεβηλαμενοι, εξ ηδονης ανδρος και συμπλοκης Ιωσηφ και Μαρίας αυτον γεννησαντες.

derstanding;

derstanding; a man meriting contempt, from every thinking person in our religion; who rejected nearly all the Epistles, who nearly rejected all the Gospels too, and then, very naturally, rejected also the Godhead of his Saviour^b.

III. CONCERNING

^b Epiphanius informs us upon the credit of good information, *ὡς ἡ ἐλθούσα εἰς ἡμᾶς γνώσις περιέχει*; that this heresy began just after the destruction of Jerusalem, *γεγονε δε ἀρχὴ τῆς μετὰ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμῶν αλώσεως*. For, as he adds, “all the [Jewish] Christians [of “Judæa] dwelt principally in a town called Pella,” *κατ’ ἐκεῖνο καιρὸν κατέφυγον τὸ πλεον ἐν Πέλλῃ τινὶ πόλει*. This he says, “gave Ebion an “opportunity of spreading his error” among them; *γεγονεν ἐκ τῆς προφασίς τῷ Εἰωνί* (p. 126). And thus Ebion, a Jewish Christian, first brought in Arianism among the Christians, and made his first proselytes to Arianism among the Jewish Christians. The Arians therefore began in the church of God at the same time, because in the same town, and under the same assemblage of Jewish Christians at it; with that other sect of Jewish hereticks in infant Christianity, which has long since vanished into air, the *Nazarenes*: *ἡ ἀρχὴ γεγονε μετὰ τὴν ἀπο τῶν Ἱεροσολυμῶν μεταστάσιν, πάντων τῶν μαθητῶν τῶν ἐν Πέλλῃ ὡκηκῶτων* (p. 123). But the Nazarenes were as different in reality, as they were in name, from the Ebionites. They were *no Arians*. They retained that Trinity of their Jewish ancestors, which the Gospel had adopted, and which the Ebionites with the cotemporary Jews had rejected. Epiphanius owns, that he does not *know* they were Arians, *ἐκ οὐδὲ εἶπεν* (p. 123). The presumption therefore is, and equally in criticism as in charity, that they were not. Had they been Arians, this peculiar stigma of heresy would peculiarly have been remembered in the church; and they, who agreed with the Ebionites in attachment to the Jewish observances, would have had no mark of discrimination from them. But, amidst the little that we *know* of this transient heresy, we know enough to say positively they were not Arians. Like the original Jews, they acknowledged a *Son* in the Godhead; and, like ourselves, confessed our Saviour

— III. —

CONCERNING the associate of this grand parent of error among Christians, we find that CERINTHUS was

viour to be *the Son of God*. “They preach up one God, and, as a “Son of him, Jesus Christ;” *ενα δε θεον καταγγελλεσι, και τον τετε παιδα Ιησυν Χριστον* (p. 122). They thus, according to the ideas of the time, as we have seen before, and according to all the proprieties of common sense, as we have repeatedly hinted; owned a Second Being in the Godhead, who stood in a *filial* relation to the First, and so shared in his substance. They were therefore not Arians, like the earlier Ebionites, with respect to our Saviour. Nor were they, like the later Ebionites, in respect to the Holy Ghost. Epiphanius could not tell, whether they affirmed our Saviour “to be generated off “Mary by the Holy Ghost,” *δια Πνευματος Αγιου γεγεννησθαι εκ Μαρίας* (p. 123). But we can. They actually acknowledged him, to be the offspring of the Holy Ghost. This is plain from St. Jerome, and from a passage cited by him out of the very Gospel of the Nazarenes. “In Evangelio quoque Hebræorum *quod lætitant Nazaræi*, “*Salvator introducitur loquens, Modò me arripuit Mater mea,* “SPIRITUS SANCTUS.” And the Holy Ghost appears demonstrably to have been considered by the Nazarenes, as the Supernatural Parent of our Saviour’s humanity. But whence comes this extraordinary change of the *gender* here? It shows its origin by its extraordinariness, and the origin of the whole doctrine with it. It was derived with the *Divinity* of the Holy Ghost, from the antient and orthodox Jews. Those Jews, “when they speak of the third “*Sephirab*, which they call *Binah*, and which we take justly to be “the Holy Ghost,—teach that *it proceeds from the First by the Second*: “it is—the doctrine of the Zohar and of the book Habbahir, related “by R. Menachem, fol. 1. col. 3. The very book of Zohar saith, “that the word *Jehovab* expresses both the Wisdom [or Logos] and “*the Binah*, and calls them Father and Mother, R. Men. fol. 3. “col.

was a Jew, like Ebion; as he asserted, says St. Austin, "the practice of circumcision, and of the
 "equally ceremonial precepts in the Law, to be a
 "part of our duty^c." In this he compleatly sym-

^c col. 3, and fol. 10. col 4.—They call her [the Holy Ghost] upon
 "that account the *Mother of Israel* and her [Israel's] Tutor, R. Men.
 "fol. 62. col. 3, fol. 64. col. 4. That idea of the Holy Ghost as a
 "*Mother*, which R. Menachem hath fol. 114. col. 2, is so antient
 "among the Jews; that St. Jerome witnesses that it was the name,
 "which the Nazarenes gave to the Holy Ghost, Hieronym. in Ezek.
 "xvi. in Isa. viii. and in Mat. xiii.—On Ezek. xvi,—after noting
 "that the word *Ruach*, Spirit, in the Hebrew tongue is *feminine*, he"
 "cites the passage above. "This passage of the Nazarene's Gospel
 "would never have been understood, if we had not known that the
 "Jews call the Holy Spirit *Imma*, Mother, as well as *Binah*, Under-
 "standing" (Allix's Judgment, p. 166 and 178). So truly ortho-
 dox concerning the Trinity were those, whom modern heresy, in the
 want of Fathers and Apostles for Arianism, would fain form into
 Arians. See also Grabe's Spicilegium, i. 27, 28, and 30, for more of
 this Gospel to the same purport.

^c De Hær. vi. p. 7. Antwerp. "Carne circumcidi oportere
 "atque alia hujusmodi Legis præcepta servari." This comprehen-
 sive account, corroborated as it is by Epiphanius, p. 110, fixes the
 Judaical part of his character compleatly. He was compleatly Ju-
 daical, in the essence of his sentiments. And though he appears from
 Epiphanius, to have superinduced some extraneous qualities over it,
 and to have considered the Supernal Lawgiver of the Jews as a bad
 Angel; yet he still urged obedience to his precepts. "Jesus was
 "circumcised," he cried, "be thou also circumcised: Christ lived
 "according to the law, and do thou act in the same manner" (Epi-
 phanius, p. 113). Nor should the apparent inconsistency startle us;
 and drive us, as it has driven Bull (p. 159), into the supposition,
 that he was openly a Jew, and secretly none at all. It is easily re-
 solvable, and Epiphanius actually resolves it (p. 113), into the na-
 tural contradictoriness of fluctuating folly.

bolized

bolized with him, who was at once his leader and his colleague, Ebion. He equally symbolized with him too, in general absurdity, and in particular principles concerning Christ.

“ He taught the world to be made, says Irenæus,
 “ not by the Prime God, but by a certain Virtue,
 “ very separate and distinct from that Power which
 “ is over the universe, and ignorant of that God
 “ which is over all. He made our Saviour not to
 “ be born of a Virgin, for that seemed impossible
 “ to him; but to have been the Son of Joseph and
 “ Mary, in the same manner as all other men are
 “ born. He made *Christ* to have descended upon
 “ him after baptism, in the figure of a dove, from
 “ that Power which is over all. He stated our
 “ Saviour to have *then* preached the unknown Fa-
 “ ther, and performed miracles. But Christ in the
 “ end, he said, flew off from Jesus, and Jesus suf-
 “ fered and rose again; while Christ himself re-
 “ mained impassible, as being spiritual^d.” Ce-

“ Non a Primo Deo factum esse mundum docuit, sed a Virtute
 “ quâdam, valdè seperatâ et distante ab eâ Principalitate quæ est
 “ super omnia, et ignorante eum qui est super omnia Deum. Jesum
 “ autem subjecit, non ex virgine natum (impossibile enim hoc ei
 “ visum est); fuisse autem eum Joseph et Mariæ filium, similiter ut
 “ reliqui omnes homines—: et post baptismum descendisse in eum,
 “ ab eâ Principalitate quæ est super omnia, Christum figurâ co-
 “ lumbæ; et tunc annunciasse incognitum Patrem, et virtutes per-
 “ fecisse; in fine autem revolâsse iterum Christum de Jesu, et Jesum
 “ passum esse et resurrexisse; Christum autem impassibilem perse-
 “ verâsse, existentem spiritalem.” Irenæus, i. 25. p. 102.

rinthus

rinthus thus taught the universe to be made by somebody we know not whom, a principle totally different from God, and even *ignorant* of him. Into such a strange shape is the creating Logos of the Father here transformed, by the Circean wand of folly! Cerinthus also would not allow our Saviour, to be born of a Virgin; though the Mahometans acknowledge he was, at present. But Salon, the Jew preceptor of Mahomet, had not drunk so deeply of Sadducean unbelief, as Cerinthus. The latter had imbibed from his brethren, all that bold spirit of dictating to God, what he *ought* to reveal; which impelled them to interpret the Virgin of Isaiah, with a full contradiction to the interpretation of their fathers, into a mere Young Woman. Reason was now perching upon the throne of Revelation. And what seemed impossible to man, was voted to be actually impossible with God, and was immediately crazed from the Bible. The owl, which has optics competent only to the view of the moon, was thus pretending to judge of the splendor of the sun from it^e. The blind bird was even presuming to soar with the eagle; to face the near and noonday-sun, like it, with an unshrinking eye; and even to censure the strong beam of the eagle's eye, for weakness.

Cerinthus considered our Saviour to be no more

^e This allusion I borrow from the Jews themselves, in Allix's Judgment, p. 176.

than

than a mere man, the real Son of Joseph and Mary, and produced in the common mode of generation. He thus shot far beyond the Mahometans. But he came back to their ground again. He made his Christ, as Mahomet makes his Gabriel, to stand for the Holy Ghost. He therefore causes his Christ to “descend upon” our Saviour “after baptism, in the figure of a “dove;” and to come “from that Power which “is over all.” Ebion in effect did the same with both. We have already seen from Tertullian, that Ebion considered our Saviour as “one who is “plainly somewhat more glorious than the prophets, so that an angel may be said to have been “in him.” “Some of the Ebionites,” adds Epiphanius, “say even Adam to be the Christ, being “the first who was formed and breathed into by “the breath of God: others of them say he is from “above, and was created before all things, *being a Spirit*, and being above angels, and being Lord of all; “and is called Christ:—and again, when they will, “they say, No; but *the Spirit, which is Christ, came “upon him, and clothed him who was called Jesus*.” Ebion and Cerinthus thus acknowledge the personal

^f Epiphanius, p. 127. Τινες γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀδὰμ τὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι λέγουσι, τὸν πρῶτον πλασθέντα τε καὶ ἐμφυσηθέντα ἀπὸ τῆς τῆ θεῆ ἐπιπνοίας. ἄλλοι δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς λέγουσιν ἀνωθεν μὲν ὄντα, πρὸ πάντων δὲ κτισθέντα, πνεῦμα ὄντα, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀγγέλων ὄντα, πάντων τε κυριεύοντα, καὶ Χριστὸν λεγέσθαι.—παλιν δὲ ὅτε βελοῦται λέγουσιν, ἔχι, ἀλλὰ εἰς αὐτὸν ἦλθε τὸ Πνεῦμα, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός, καὶ ἐνέδυσατο αὐτὸν τὸ Ἰησοῦν καλούμενον
existence

existence of the Holy Ghost, as an angel. Under the present power of this angel, our Saviour comes forth in Cerinthus's account, exactly as he does in ours, preaching the unknown Father to the world at large, and performing a great variety of miracles. But "Christ in the end," says Cerinthus, "flew off from Jesus; and Jesus suffered and rose again, while Christ himself remained impassible, as being spiritual." The Holy Ghost of Cerinthus thus leaves our Saviour. The gift of miracles is withdrawn from him. He sinks into a mere man again. He suffers as a man; while the Holy Ghost, who is necessarily "spiritual" as an angel, and necessarily "impassible" as a spirit, shares not at all in his sufferings. And Cerinthus provides against his Angel, the Holy Ghost, partaking in the sufferings of our Saviour, almost as the Mahometans do against their Angel the Messiah; *he*, by withdrawing the auxiliary angel from him, when the sufferings begin; and *they*, by equally withdrawing the angel our Saviour himself, and substituting another in his likeness to suffer for him^g.

Cerinthus

^g Koran, chap. iii. "The Jews devised a stratagem against Him; but God devised a stratagem against them, and God is the best deviser of stratagems." "This stratagem of God's," says Mr. Sale, "was the taking of Jesus up into heaven, and stamping his likeness on another person, who was apprehended and crucified in his stead. For it is the constant doctrine of the Mohammedans, that it was not Jesus himself who underwent that ignominious death, but *somebody else* in his shape and resemblance"

(p. 42).

Cerinthus then stands upon the same level with the Mahometans, in some articles; and even sinks beneath them, in others. Yet he sinks not to Socinianism, on the grand point. He stooped at Arianism. And he went dreadfully low, in going down to this. Indeed, as Tertullian adds, “ he made
“ Christ a man only, the son of Joseph, and without DIVINITY.” Yet the opposition is here kept up, we see, not between the Human and the Angelical natures, but between the Divine and the

(p. 42). “ They have said,” the Koran tells us of the Jews in another place, “ Verily we have slain Christ Jesus;—yet they slew him
“ not, neither crucified him, but he was represented by one in his
“ likeness:—they did not really kill him; but God took him up
“ unto himself” (chap. iv. p. 79). Accordingly the Mahometan Gospel of St. Barnabas, makes four angels to come from God to our Saviour, who “ came in all haste, and bare him out of the window
“ which looks towards the south,” in “ the house where the disciples
“ slept;” and “ placed him in the third heaven:” while “ Judas the
“ traitor entered before the rest into the place from which Jesus had
“ just been taken up,” was there changed by God “ into the same
“ figure and speech with Jesus,” and was seized and crucified for him (White’s Notes, p. lxix—lxx). Yet the Koran here *contradicts* itself, as in chap. iii. p. 43, it tells us, “ God said, O Jesus, verily I
“ will cause thee to *die*, and I will take thee up unto me;” which the commentators *try* to reconcile, by supposing he is to die at the end of the world, by supposing *death* here means either its likeness sleep or spiritual mortification, or by supposing he actually died, was revived, and then was taken up (see Mr. Sale’s note here). They thus prove the contradiction, by attempting to solve it; and make it the more glaring, by the foolishness of their attempts. The heretical opinion also was, that *Simon of Cyrene*, not Judas, suffered instead of our Saviour (Pearson on the Creed. p. 184 and 202).

F f

Human.

Human. Cerinthus did not allow our Saviour to be, what the universal church asserted he was, a GOD-MAN. This is "an opinion," as Tertullian remarks in another place, "which will coincide
 " with Ebion's, who made Jesus a mere man, only
 " a Descendant from David, and not *also* THE SON
 " OF GOD^h." Here the same opposition is still kept up. The DIVINITY of our Saviour was torne away from his humanity, by the violent hands of Ebion and of Cerinthus. But then Cerinthus and Ebion did equally agree in another point. They left not the human nature to stand by itself. They added another nature to it. And Cerinthus, like Ebion, believed our Saviour to be an *Angel-man*. We find accordingly from Tertullian himself, that he "believed the God of the Jews to have been,
 " not the Lord, but an Angel;" and even affirmed
 " the world to have been created, not by God, but

^h "Cerinthus hæreticus—Christum ex semine Josephi natum
 " proponit, hominem illum tantummodo sine Divinitate contendens"
 (De Præscript. Hæreticor. lxxviii. p. 221); "poterit hæc opinio
 " Ebioni convenire, qui nudum hominem, et tantum ex semine Da-
 " vid, id est, non et Dei Filium, constituit Jesum" (De Carne Chris-
 ti, xiv. p. 319). The latter passage indeed, as the whole of this
 addition to Tertullian's work, is wanting in some manuscripts; and
 is preceded by that *Finis* of the ancients, "contra hæreticos *explicit*."
 The work ended there originally. But Tertullian himself made the
 addition. He promises it at the end of the other: "nunc quidem
 " *generaliter* actum est a nobis adversus hæreses omnes:—de reliquo
 " *etiam specialiter* quibusdam respondebimus." And the style, the
 manner, and the matter, are all apparently 'Tertullian's.

" by

“ by Angelsⁱ.” His “ Virtue” therefore; by which, as we have seen before, and “ not by the “ Prime God,” a phrase evidently borrowed from the Trinity of the Christians about him, totally incongruous with his system, and yet from its familiarity sliding insensibly into his language, he supposes the world to be made; was an Angel, “ very “ separate and distinct from that Power which is “ over the universe,” that is, not he who is said to be of the same substance with God, and to be his Logos; and even “ ignorant of that God which is “ over all.” He thus reduced the Logos of the Old Testament, into a mere Angel; depriving him of the honour of creating the world, and the dignity of being the God of the Jews; and madly communicating it all to an Angel. We have seen him before from Irenæus, like the Mahometans, making our Saviour equally an Angel; like them, superadding the Angel to the mere man, and so forming Christ Jesus from both. And Tertullian himself considers him, as believing our Saviour to have had an Angel within him^k. Cerinthus therefore stands distinguished

ⁱ Tertullian, p. 221. “ Ipsam quoque legem ab angelis datam perhibens, Judæorum Deum, non Dominum, sed Angelum, promens;—Hebion—Cerintho non in omni parte consentiens, quòd “ a Deo dicat mundum, non ab angelis, factum.”

^k Tertullian, p. 319, speaking of some hereticks, who held this opinion of our Saviour being an Angel and a Man in one, says thus: “ Quanto ergo, dum hominem gestat, minor angelis factus est, tanto

distinguished now in the melancholy annals of heresy, as the second transplanter of the bitter root of Arianism, out of the blasted wilderness of the Jews, into the garden of Christ's church.

He and Ebion serve to show us, however, that the very Jews whom our Saviour interrogated, and even those who were cotemporaries with Justin and Trypho, both of whom professed to expect a mere son of David in their Messiah; were no more Socinians in reality than these, and were only Arians like them, by expecting an angel to be superinduced (as it were) over the man in Him, and by considering Him as compounded of both. The Jewish Arianism of the Koran, which is exactly this, strongly intimates the point. The agreement of Ebion with the Koran, appears to confirm it. And the agreement of Cerinthus with both, appears to give a certainty to all. With such an useful light, do these two nebulous stars in the dark firmament of heresy, this Castor and this Pollux of Arianism, dimly shine out to us. Irenæus accordingly insinuates the Jews in his time, just like bishop Clayton, to have reduced the Son and the Spirit of God into a couple of Angels. "In this," he says, "the Jews have

"non, dum angelum gestat. Poterit hæc opinio Hebioni convenire." P. 221. "Hebion fuit Cerintho non in omni parte consentiens, quòd a Deo dicat mundum, non ab angelis factum." Cerinthus therefore and Hebion agreed in the other points; especially in this, of our Saviour's having an angel within him.

"gone

“ gone off from God, by not receiving the WORD
 “ of God, but thinking they are able to know God
 “ by himself, without the WORD, that is, without the
 “ Son; being ignorant of Him who spoke in a hu-
 “ man form to Abraham, and Aaron, and Moses:
 “ —for all nature was formed from the beginning
 “ by the Son, who is the WORD of God; the Fa-
 “ ther having no need of *angels* for creating man,—
 “ and again having no need of *their* ministry, when
 “ he fabricated the world:—for to him do minister
 “ in all things his Offspring and his Image, that is,
 “ the Son and Holy Spirit, WORD and WISDOM,
 “ whom *all the angels are subject to and serve*’.”
 Nor is the *present* faith of the Jews, different from
 all. In their grand council at Ageda, A. D. 1650,
 “ they did agree in this; that he [their Messiah]
 “ should be born of a VIRGIN, according to the
 “ prediction of the prophets.” They also thought
 “ Eliah was he, if he were come, because he [Eli-
 “ ah] came with great power, which he declared

¹ Adv. Hær. iv. 17, p. 303. “ Propter hoc Judæi excefferunt a
 “ Deo, Verbum Dei non recipientes; sed putantes per seipsum Pa-
 “ trem sine Verbo, id est sine Filio, posse cognoscere Deum; nesci-
 “ entes eum qui in figurâ loquutus est humanâ ad Abraham et Aa-
 “ ron et—Mousem:—hæc enim Filius, qui est Verbum Dei, ab
 “ initio præstruebat, non indigente Patre angelis, uti—formaret—
 “ hominem,—neque rurûs indigente ministerio [angelorum] ad fa-
 “ bricationem eorum quæ facta sunt:—ministrat enim ei ad omnia
 “ sua Progenies et Figuratio sua, id est, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus,
 “ Verbum et Sapientia; quibus serviunt et subjecti sunt omnes an-
 “ geli.”

“ by slaying the priests of Baal; and, for the fulfil-
 “ ing of scripture, he was oppressed by Ahab and
 “ Jezebel; yet they esteemed him to be MORE
 “ THAN A MORTAL MAN, because he so strangely as-
 “ cended up into heaven^m.” Accordingly many of
 the Jews, in order to account for their Messiah’s
 delay of coming among them, are driven to the na-
 tural subterfuge of supposing, in a Mahometan wild-
 nefs of fancy; that he is still “ detained in PARA-
 “ DISE” or heaven, kept from appearing by God,
 and “ bound with” a chain of “ woman’s hairⁿ.”
 And all the Jews expect their Messiah at present, to be
 an *Angel-man*. So plainly does the *heretical* faith of
 the Jews, appear to have been only the faith of Ari-
 anism, not of Socinianism; from the days of our Sa-
 viour, to those of Ebion and Cerinthus, to those of
 Irenæus and Mahomet, and to the present time!

Against the *latter* of those wretched Jews; both,
 too contemptible for refutation from their folly, if
 they had not become too dangerous for neglect
 from their audacity; and *this*, the only one alive
 probably at the time^o, so particularly obnoxious
 to a surviving apostle, that he instantly rushed
 out of a bathing-house, when he saw “ that ene-
 “ my of the truth,” Cerinthus, within it: did

^m Phenix, i. 550.

ⁿ Mod. Un. Hist. xiii. p. 519, from David Kimchi, &c.

^o It appears from Epiphanius, p. 423, that Ebion preached his
 heresy, equally with Cerinthus, in the place of St. John’s residence.

this very apostle, then the aged and venerable St. John, peculiarly write his Gospel. “ John the disciple of our Lord,” as Irenæus tells us, “ was willing by the publication of his Gospel, to take away the error which Cerinthus had diffeminated among men ^p.”

We

^p Irenæus adv. Hær. iii. xi. p. 218, “ Hanc fidem annuncians Joannes Domini discipulus, volens per Evangelii annunciationem auferre eum, qui a Cerintho infeminatus erat hominibus, errorem,” &c. Yet to the amazement of my reader let me record, that, in the exorbitance of heretical wildness, “ the author of a late book intituled Considerations maintains, that the Gospels have been corrupted by the orthodox party, and suspects *that of St. John* to be *the work of Cerinthus*” (Allix’s Judgment, Preface, p. xiv). And thus the insanity of some ancient bedlamites, who loved not the Logos of St. John, who therefore rejected the writings of the apostle, and so gained the appellation of Alogi from the Christians in their sober senses (Epiphanius, p. 424); astonishingly appeared again, among some moon-struck hereticks in England.

Epiphanius had applied the fact concerning the bathing-house, to Ebion (p. 148—149). Such colleagues in heresy were he and Cerinthus! But Irenæus, on the positive authority of some then alive, who had received the anecdote from Polycarp; applies it directly to Cerinthus, and fixes Ephesus as the scene of it: ΕΙΣΙΝ οἱ ακηκευότες αὐτῶ [Πολυκαρπῶ], οὗτοι Ἰωάννης ὁ τῷ κυρίῳ μαθητῆς, ἐν τῇ Ἐφεσῷ πορευθεὶς λουασθαι, καὶ ἰδὼν ἐσὼ Κηρίνθον, ἐξήλατο τῷ βαλανείῳ μὴ λουσαμένους, ἀλλ’ ἐπειπὼν, φυγώμεν, μὴ καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον συμπεσῇ, ἐνδὸν οὗτος Κηρίνθος, τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθρῷ (Adv. Hær. iii. 3. p. 204). In an age of miraculous interpositions, such an interposition as this against such an heretick, might not unreasonably be apprehended by an apostle. And Eusebius, iii. 28, p. 123, cites Irenæus for the incident, as relating entirely to Cerinthus. Dr. Middleton indeed, in his free humour of encountering the whole history of our religion in the first ages, and so, like another Canute, pretending to stop with his voice the flowing ocean of antiquity; has objected to the relation. It has

We accordingly see one feature in the complexion of infant Christianity, one circumstance in the

only the testimony of Irenæus, he urges, and is told by him at second hand or from hearsay. But the folly of the objection is glaringly conspicuous. If such an incident as this may not be received upon the credit of *one* historian, what is to become of the general history of man? It must fall to the ground. And Polybius, Tacitus, and Thucydides, must rank with the writers of legends. Irenæus therefore, though single, is a competent evidence; and even for an incident, of ten times superior magnitude. His relation is founded primarily on the evidence of Polycarp, a cotemporary of the Grand Agent, even his disciple and companion, probably a companion at the moment, and a witness of the highest credibility in himself. This carries us up to the very fountain-head of the whole. There are few testimonies in history, superior to this. There can only be one, that of a *certain* spectator. But how was this testimony conveyed to Irenæus? Not by one relator, but by more; by persons actually alive at the time of Irenæus's writing, who had received it, not from the current talk of the times, but from the very lips of Polycarp himself, and who had themselves recited the testimony of Polycarp to Irenæus. There is only one link therefore in the chain of this historical tradition, between the actor and the narrators. If this does not form an evidence sufficiently historical, half the history of man must be struck off from the records of truth. Most of the main and capital points in our human annals, actually stand not upon such good ground of authority, as this little anecdote does. A Livy and a Suetonius particularly, whose evidence for facts prior to themselves can be evidence only at second, third, and fourth hand, must be dashed aside at once from the file of historians. And Dr. Middleton's introduction of the judiciary principles of evidence, into the region of history; would manifest its madness by its destructiveness. But the Doctor urges another, and an internal, objection to the history. St. John, it seems, does not act in it with the proper dignity of an apostle. St. Peter reproved Simon Magus, he says, St. Paul struck Elymas with blindness, and St. John only rushed out of the bathing-house

the history of our rising religion; which has been little noticed, but is very striking in itself, and results

house at the sight of Cerinthus. Dr. Middleton, to be sure, is a competent judge of all the proprieties of apostolical conduct. He finds two incidents in this conduct. These indeed vary each from the other. But he will not allow the third to have the same variety. In the narrowness of his conceptions he makes it spurious, because it is not the same. But an apostle, like a man, varies his conduct with the circumstances. St. John knew these circumstances, infinitely better than we do; and therefore, no doubt, adapted his conduct to them. We can see however, that no reproof which he could have given to Cerinthus, and no expulsion of him from the bathing-house; even if he could have expelled him, without a recurrence to his miraculous powers, and without shaking that building over his head, which he apprehended would fall upon it without his shaking: would have been more pointed in itself, and have spoken with more significance to the Christians, than his abruptly, and without bathing, leaving the house at the sight of Cerinthus in it; and his instantly explaining the act by the exclamation, "Let us flee, lest even the house should fall down, while Cerinthus, that enemy of the truth, is within it." This exclamation and this act told to the ears and eyes of all, the horror which St. John felt for the principles of Cerinthus, and the apprehensions which he entertained of some signal vengeance from God, upon the person of Cerinthus. And it thus answered every religious and apostolical purpose, which we can conceive St. John to have had in view. So truly impertinent are the arguments of Dr. Middleton, against the truth of this useful anecdote! Internally and externally surveyed, it is found to rest firmly upon its own supporters. See Dr. Middleton's objections in his Miscellaneous Works, ii. 108 and 111. In an age indeed, when the old credulity is now followed by a new scepticism; by a scepticism as fashionable, as the credulity was; and by a scepticism, that from its novelty we know not how to manage: the faith of the generality of scholars in the early and human history of our religion, is like the rocking-stone of our Heathen ancestors; a something thrown

sults entirely from this. The venerable Founder of our faith, and the dignified preachers of it to the world, as late as St. John himself; do never propose the doctrine of Christ's divinity, as a *new* article of belief, as one that had been hitherto unknown to the church of God, and that was now brought to light by the Gospel. They do not lay it before their hearers or their readers, in formal propositions. They bring it not forward to their understandings, with a solemnity of introduction; that should show their own sense of its surprizing nature, and prepare the minds of their people for the first reception of it. No! They pass imperceptibly into the subject. They insinuate rather than proclaim it. They speak of it in such a manner, as proves it to have been familiar to their own minds, and familiar to the minds of their countrymen. Whenever they notice it, they notice it as a doctrine, which had always been professed by the church of God, had always been

thrown into a tremulous agitation, *by the stalk of an asphodel* touching it; while even *the arm of a giant* cannot really unsettle it from its centre. And, not to leave the Arian any possible opening of escape from the pressure of this anecdote, let me add; that the "error" of Cerinthus which St. John meant to encounter by his Gospel, and which appears from that Gospel to have been the great "error" of *Arianism*, was undoubtedly the very "error," which *occasioned* St. John's personal abhorrence for Cerinthus; and that the two anecdotes of Irenæus concerning St. John, thus unite the one with the other, and both with the writings of St. John, to show what an object of aversion an Arian was to an apostle.

believed

believed by its members, and now wanted only to be applied to the person of Jesus. This remark, which is so necessary to the right understanding of *our* scriptures, is additionally demonstrated to be true; by the evident contrast which appears in the writings of St. John, compared with all the other writings of the New Testament, concerning the present article. *Then* the article having been doubted, denied, and opposed, by Cerinthus and Ebion; that last of the apostles, whose life seems to have been continued for the very purpose, set himself to mention the doctrine in a very different manner. He no longer notes it, in the easy and transient mode of his predecessors. He asserts it in peremptory terms. He dwells upon it in circumstantial language. He does this too, at the very *commencement* of his Gospel. And there he comes over and over again with it, calls in all the emphasis of repetition, and exerts all the energy of variation; to impress the doctrine upon the minds and spirits of his readers, for ever^q.

— IV. —

^q Epiphanius tells us, p. 111, that Cerinthus was “one of those, who created confusion in the days of the apostles; when James and his colleagues wrote the epistle to Antioch, saying, “Forasmuch as we have heard, that certain which went out from us have troubled you with words,—to whom we gave no such commandment” (Acts, xv. 24). He adds also, that Cerinthus was “one of those who opposed the holy Peter, after he had gone in to the holy Cornelius; and was the very man, that moved “them “that

— IV. —

IN this manner did Arianism get footing among us Christians, introduced by the wild fantasticalness of a Jew, and opposed with all the weight and wisdom of an apostle. Indeed the authority of St. John must have been sufficient, we should think, to have suppressed this heresy at its rise, and to have freed the church from it entirely. But vainly is reason opposed at times, to the impertinences of folly; and in vain at times does even inspiration come forward, to check the effrontery of pride. The pride of folly, when dressed out in the borrowed livery of wisdom, disdains all controul. And the serpent of Arianism, though bruised and crushed under the feet of St. John, had yet strength enough left, to creep away into covert, there to regain its original vigour, and even to break out from thence

“that were of the circumcision to contend with him, saying, Thou wentest in to men un-circumcised” (Acts, xi. 2—3). But this was done, as Epiphanius subjoins, “before he preached his doctrine in Asia, and fell into the deeper abyss of his own destruction.” From all he appears to have been an active turbulent man, such as one should expect *him* to be, who became the second hero of Arianism; a very Erostratus in theology, whose vigour of spirit could be confined within no bounds, and who was ready for any deed that would serve to immortalize his name. Such men would set fire to the whole world, only to form for themselves a funeral pile of greater magnificence; provided they were sure of another world, to talk about it.

with

with additional vivacity again. There was now no apostle, to bruise its head afresh. But there was sufficient illumination of intelligence, and sufficient invigoration of zeal, in the church itself; to resist, to assault, and to quell the monster a second time. Three hundred and twenty three bishops were assembled, out of every region in the Christian world. These, with only *five* dissentients at first, and only *two* at last, out of the whole number; drew up a profession of the universal faith of Christendom, peculiarly pointed against this revived spirit of Judaism, and strenuously asserting the substantial Divinity of our Saviour^r. And the continued use of this confession, with only some slight additions upon this and other points, in all the publick devotions of the East and West, from that period to the present; marks to us in the strongest manner, the final and complete triumph of the original principles of Christianity, over the alien and adventitious doctrines of Judaism^s.

Accordingly, in all this period of triumphing orthodoxy, we see Arianism repeatedly branded as

^r Socrates, Hist. i. 8. p. 22, and i. 9, p. 27, of Reading's edition, Vol. II. ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΙΣΤΙΝ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΔΕΚΑΟΝΤΩ ΕΓΓΩΣΑΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΕΡΞΑΝ.—ΠΕΝΤΕ ΔΕ ΜΟΝΟΙ & ΠΡΟΣΕΔΕΞΑΝΤΟ (p. 22). These five are in p. 27 reduced to two, Theonas bishop of Marmarica and Secundus bishop of Ptolemais.

^s “ Within a hundred and fifty years, or thereabouts, after their
“ [the Arians] first rise [in Arius]; there hardly remained any
“ professors of it” (Allix's Judgment, Preface, p. ix—x).

Judaism,

Judaism, by those venerable writers, whom good-sense and piety will always revere; whom a just and manly fondness of reverence in the orthodox, has denominated the Fathers of the church; and to whom even the heretical are happy to appeal, whenever they fancy they can. As historical authorities, they must carry a considerable weight with every one. "Come ye then all together," cries that very good man and very useful writer Ignatius, in one of his Eusebian and authentick epistles, "as into one temple of God, as to one altar, as to one Jesus Christ, Him who came forth from the Father, and WHO WAS ONE, and RETURNED INTO ONE AGAIN." Ignatius thus warns his Magnesians against those hereticks the Ebionites and the Cerinthians, but the former only as included in the latter; both of whom denied the Divinity of Christ, as we have just seen, and endeavoured, as we have also seen, to introduce Judaism. "Be not deceived," he adds, "with the heterodoxies, or with the old fables, which are un-profitable; for, if even yet we live according to JUDAISM, we confess we have not received grace; for the most divine prophets lived according to Christ Jesus; therefore also they were persecuted, being inspired by his grace to convince the unbelievers, that there is ONE GOD who manifested HIMSELF through Jesus Christ his Son, who is his ETERNAL

“NAL WORD, not coming forth FROM SILENCE,”
 that is, not coming forth as the *word* of God’s
mouth after an antecedent period of silence; “who in
 “all points pleased him that sent him: if then those
 “who were engaged in old things, have come to a
 “newness of hope, no longer keeping the *Sabbath*,
 “but living according to *the Lord’s day*,” &c.¹
 He thus glances at the Judaical origin of Arianism,
 in the very beginning of this period. About the
 middle of it, “this is a point of JEWISH faith,”
 says Tertullian, “so to believe in one God, as not
 “to reckon to Him a SON, and a SPIRIT after the
 “Son; for *what difference will there be* but *this*,
 “between *us* and *them*? What is the work of the
 “Gospel? What is the substance of the New Tes-
 “tament, which has fixed the Law and the pro-
 “phets even till John; if from thence forward FA-

¹ Ignat. ad Magnesios, vii—viii. ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΕΝ ΩΣ ΕΙΣ [ΕΝΑ] ΝΑΟΝ ΣΥΝ-
 αρχεσθε θεοι, ως επι εν θυσιαστηριον, ως επι ενα Ιησυν Χριστον, τον αφ’ εν-
 Πατρ- προελθοντα, και εις ενα οντα και χωρησαντα. Μη πλανασθε
 ταις ετεροδοξιαις, μηδε μυθευμασιν τοις παλαιοις, ανωφελεσιν εσιν. Ε-
 γαρ μεχρι νυν κατα νομον Ιουδαισμον ζωμεν, ομολογουμεν χαριν μη ειληφε-
 ναι. Οι γαρ θειοτατοι προφηται κατα Χριστον Ιησυν εξησαν. Δια τ-
 και εδιωχθησαν, εμπνεομενοι υπο της χαριτ- αυτη, εις το πληροφορηθηνα-
 της απειθ-ντας, οτι εις θεος εστιν ο φανερωσας εαυτον δια Ιη-
 Χρισ- αυτη, ος εστιν αυτη Λογ- αιδι-, εκ απο σιγης προελθων, ος κατα
 παντα ευηρεσησεν τω περιψαντι αυτον. Ει εν οι εν παλαιοις πραγμασι-
 αναγραφεντες, εις καινοτητα ελπιδ- ηλθον, μηκετι σαββατιζοντες, αλλα
 κατα κυριακην ζων ζωντες κ. τ. λ. (Ruffel, ii. 129—130). See Cote-
 lerius’s and Smith’s notes here, Pearson’s Vindiciæ in Cotelarius,
 Vol. II. part ii. p. 350, and Bull, p. 156—166.

“ THER,

“THER, and SON, and SPIRIT, believed to be
 “THREE PERSONS, do not CONSTITUTE ONE
 “GOD^u?” In these expressive terms, does Tertul-
 lian at once show the Christian belief of his cotem-
 poraries, in the doctrine of the Trinity; and mark
 with disdain the Judaical leaven of Arianism, as
 opposed to it. Novatian also, who lived just im-
 mediately after Tertullian, and whose work upon
 the Trinity is subjoined to the works of Tertullian;
 says our Saviour “showed himself to be GOD, by
 “coming from thence whence man cannot come,”
 heaven. “But indeed,” he adds concerning the
 Arians, “the JEWS, ignorant and un-appriized of this
 “his descent, HAVE LEFT THOSE HERETICKS their
 “HEIRS^x.” So significantly does he note, in con-
 firmation of the general belief in the Godhead of
 our Saviour, the opposite doctrine to have been
 transmitted as an inheritance of folly, from the ig-
 norant Jews to the heretical Christians! About the
 close of this period, that FIRST of GENTILE Arians,

^u Tertullian adv. Praxeam, c. xxx. p. 518. “Judaicæ fidei ista
 “res, sic unum Deum credere, ut Filium adnumerare ei nolis, et post
 “Filiū Spiritum. Quid enim erit inter nos et illos, nisi differen-
 “tia illa? Quod opus Evangelii? Quæ est substantia Novi Testa-
 “menti, statuens legem et prophetas usque ad Johannem; si non
 “exinde Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus, tres crediti, unum Deum
 “sistunt?”

^x “Veniendo autem inde unde homo venire non potest, Deum
 “se ostendit venisse; sed enim hujus ipsius descensionis ignari et im-
 “periti Judæi, hæredes sibi hæreticos istos reddiderunt” (Tertul-
 lian, p. 721, De Trin. lib. c. xxiii).

Theodotus

Theodotus the tanner of Byzantium, is declared by Epiphanius to be refuted, “ together with the UN-
 “ BELIEVING and GOD-DENYING JEWS;” in our Saviour’s intimation, that he himself existed before Abraham was made^y. Alexander also, the bishop of Alexandria, in his long and spirited memorial against the rising heresy of Arius and his associates; says that, “ condemning all the apostolick godly
 “ doctrine, WITH THE MANNER of the JEWS they
 “ have been forging weapons in their workshop, to
 “ fight against Christ; denying the DIVINITY of
 “ our Saviour, and reducing him to an equality
 “ with all creatures^z.” And “ we,” says Athanasius, “ are separate from those who Judaize,” the real Jews, “ and those who corrupt Christianity
 “ with JUDAISM,” the Jewish Arians, “ who, de-
 “ nying the God off God, talk like the JEWS con-
 “ cerning one God; not therefore asserting him to
 “ be the only God, because He only is the Unbe-
 “ gotten, and He only the Fountain of the Deity;
 “ but as one barren and unfruitful, without a Son,

^y Epiphanius, p. 467. Ελεγχων θεοδοτον [who is called in Euseb. v. xxviii. p. 252, αρχηγον και πατερα], και της απιστης και επαρησι-
 θεας Ιουδαιας.

^z Theodorit. Hist. i. 4, Reading, iii. 10. Οι πασης της αποστολικης ευσεβους δοξης κατηγορηντες, Ιουδαικω προσχηματι χριστομαχον συνεκροτη-
 σαν εργασηριον, την θεοτητα τη Σωτηρος ημων αρνημενοι, και τοις πασι
 ισον ειναι κηρυσσοντες.

“without a living WORD and a true WISDOM.”

Arianism and orthodoxy we see constantly ranged each against the other, exactly as Judaism and Christianity; the original Judaism of the Arians, being perpetually exhibited to the Christians, in the continuing and universal Arianism of the Jews before their eyes^b.

Thus

^a Athanasius, Oratio contra Gregales Sabellii, i. p. 651, Paris, 1627. Χωριζομεθα δε και των Ιουδαιζοντων, και τον Χριστιανισμον εν Ιουδαισμω παραφθειροντων, οι τον εκ της δευτερας θεου αρνημενοι, θεον ενα παραπλησιως Ιουδαιοις λεγουσι· εχ' οτι μονον αγεννητον και μονον πηγη θεοτητος, δια τωτο φασκοντες αυτον ειναι μονον θεον, αλλ' ως αγονον γινε και ακαρπον ζωντον Λογον και Σοφιας αληθινης.

^b Athanasius accordingly adds, that “the Judaizing Arians of this time seem to me, to be in the same situation with Caiaphas and the Pharisees of that time,” Αρειανοι δε νυν Ιουδαιζοντες ταυτον μοι δοκωσι πασχειν τω Καϊαφα και τοις τοτε Φαρισαιοις (Syn. Nic. i. p. 250). “This,” he subjoins in another place, “is that undisguised opinion of Caiaphas and the man of Samosata, which the church banished,” τωτο της Καϊαφα και της Σαμοσατεως ατεχνως εστι το φρονημα, οπερ η μεν εκκλησια εξεβαλεν (ibid. p. 273). And, as he finally says to the Arians, “Behold, we indeed demonstrate this our opinion to have been transmitted from fathers to fathers;” ιδε ημεις μεν εκ πατερων εις πατερας διαδεχμεναι την τοιαυτην διανοιαν αποδεικνυμεν· “but ye, O recent Jesus and disciples of Caiaphas, what fathers have ye to show for your assertions?” υμεις δε, ω νεοι Ιουδαιοι και της Καϊαφα μαθηται, τινας αρα των ρηματων υμων εχετε δειξει πατερας; “yet not one of those prudent and wise men can ye mention,” αλλ' εδεναν των φρονιμων και σοφων αν ειποιτε· “for all persons are averse to you, except the devil only,” παντες γαρ υμας αποσρεφονται, πλην μονου της διαβολης, “and he only was the father of such an apostasy to you,” μονος γαρ υμιν ετος της τοιαυτης αποστασιας πατηρ γεγονεν (ibid. p. 277). The zeal of this worthy man, this glorious champion of orthodoxy, and this “vir prope divinus,”
as

Thus begun and thus supported, the belief of the Trinity passed over into this island, with the general system of the Gospel. We know not much indeed of our church, at that period. But we know enough, to see this fact very clearly. And from one of the *two* British histories that we have of the times, and from the only one that touches upon theology at all; we learn not only the original faith of the island in the Divinity of our Saviour, but also the first introduction of Arianism into it. The truth is thus shown in a stronger luster of light, by its opposition to the darkness of error. “ This
“ pleasing agreement of Christ the head and of the
“ members,” says Gildas, “ continued here; till
“ THE ARIAN PERFIDY, like a fierce serpent, vo-
“ miting forth its *transmarine* poisons upon us, de-
“ structively caused brethren who were united to-
“ gether, to be separated^c.” In that great earth-

as Bull calls him (p. 291), is here remarkable. To *modern* ears he must sound as blunt in his manner, as he is right in his matter. And, on an occasion so grand as this, zeal must often speak what charity would fain withhold. Charity indeed, looking upon things with the common eye of vision, would withhold every thing that is grating and severe to the moment. But Charity, furnished with a telescope by Faith, and ranging forward in vision to the Great Future, sees things in a new state, and finds herself to be Zeal in reality.

^c Hist. c. ix. p. 12. Gale's Scriptorum, vol. i. “ Mansit—hæc
“ Christi, capitis, membrorumque consonantia suavis; donec Arri-
“ ana Perfidia, atrox ceu anguis, transmarina nobis evomens ve-
“ nena, fratres in unum habitantes exitiabilè faceret sejungi.”

quake, as it were, which was made within the body of the church, by the force of Arianism struggling for vent, and working in darkness below; Britain shared in the general convulsion. But the church soon settled again, upon its old and natural center. The island soon recovered its original habits of thinking, and adopted the Nicene Faith of the church at large. The æra of introduced Arianism, was marked with the disdain and abhorrence of our British ancestors. And the current of belief ran clear and untainted, in this particular; through all the succeeding periods of our history, to the present^d.

Nor let the perpetual self-sufficiency of Arianism^e,
presume

^d Hist. of Manchester, ii. Quarto, p. 455—456, &c.

^e Of this self-sufficiency we *feel* too much at present, not to be sensible of its existence among the present Arians. But let history exhibit it to us, as the original and co-eval spirit of Arianism, as infused into it at its second birth in Arius, and as therefore showing itself so livelily since. “Those who have set themselves in array against the Divinity of the Son of God,” says Alexander Bishop of Alexandria concerning Arius and his *felloes* in heresy, “— *deign not to compare any of the antients with themselves; and suffer not those whom we have used as Masters from our childhood,*” the Fathers preceding them, “*to be put on an equal footing with themselves; and consider not any one of our present colleagues throughout the whole church, to have even a moderate share of wisdom; declaring themselves to be the only wise, and the only persons to whom has been revealed, what never happened to enter into the mind of any other man under the sun.* O impious arrogance and immeasurable madness!”

Οι γὰρ κατὰ τῆς Θεότητος τῆς Ὑπὲρ Θεῶν παραταξαμένοι, — ὅδε τῶν ἀρχαίων τινὰς συγκρίνειν ἑαυτοῖς ἀξιοῦσιν, ὅδε οἱς ἡμεῖς ἐκ παιδῶν ὠμιλήσαμεν διδασκαλοῖς, ἐξισοῦσθαι ἀνεχονται· ἀλλ’ ὅδε τῶν νῦν πανταχὺ συλλεπτῶν
γὰρ

presume to attribute this unvaried style of orthodoxy in our church, to the contracted state of the human mind in those ages, and to its incapacity of expansion and exertion. This would be only to expose its folly the more, by its self-sufficiency. The Deist might, with equal arrogance, pronounce our belief of the *whole* Gospel; to be only narrowness of intellect, and bigotry of spirit. And the unhappy maniac in Bedlam, with equal justice might assert himself, to have been the only man in his senses amid a world of madmen; to have been therefore overpowered by the multitude, and locked up in his solitary cell. There were some undoubtedly in this long period of time, who were too proud to adopt the trite faith of the vulgar, or too weak to grasp the vast evidence for it. There will be such, in every age. It was with a view to such, we may

γνω τινὰ εἰς μέτρον σοφίας ἤγουνται· μόνοι σοφοί—λεγοντες εἶναι, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκαλυφθαι μόνοις, ἀπερ ἔδενι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἑτέρῳ πεφυκεν εἰθεῖν εἰς ἐννοίαν. Ω ἀνοσίῃ τυφῇ καὶ ἀμέτρῃ μανίᾳς (Theodorit's Eccl. Hist. i. 4. p. 17. Reading, 3d volume). The good bishop, in his zeal, has overlooked the earlier history of the church in general, and the Ebionite and Cerinthian Arianism of the Apostolick church in particular. He was not ignorant of them, because in p. 15 he actually refers to them. But, in his zeal, he momentarily speaks more than he means. And what he speaks, even in the lowest line to which we can reduce it, shows us very plainly the universal sentiments of the church in his time, to have been for the Divinity of the Son of God; and Arianism to have been long buried in the grave of its own infamy, when it was recalled from death by the act of Arius, took its new appellation from his, and so has transmitted *his* name with all *its* infamy, through the succeeding ages of the church.

be sure, that the doctrine of the Trinity is so repeatedly and so strenuously vindicated as it is, in the canons of our Saxon fathers. Those of the Norman are strikingly distinguished from them; the doctrine being there enforced, only just enough to show the abiding belief of the nation, and with a frequency so much less, as proves the disputes concerning it to have been much rarer. And, in both the Norman and the Saxon periods of our church, the Arians were so insignificant in themselves; as to be only like the dust of a library upon the literature of it, repeatedly swept away with an easy hand, and sometimes lying sequestered perhaps in a dark corner of the room.

In this state of the national theology, the Reformation happily took place among us. No corruptions however having been made in this point, by that grand author of all corruptions in the middle ages, the church of Rome; there was no scope for a reformation in it. Our Reformers accordingly took up the doctrine of the Trinity, as they found it; as the faith of the universal church in all ages, and as the faith of the church of England from the beginning. Nor did even those unreasonable seceders from our reformed church, who thought we did not carry our reformations far enough; ever pitch upon this doctrine, as an object of their animadversions. No! They were as zealous for the doctrine, as ourselves. And they and we went on
hand

hand in hand, concurring cordially in the assertion of this Prime Principle, receiving and reflecting mutually the fire of zeal for it.

— V. —

But after a sleep of many ages, the evil genius of Arianism started occasionally from his slumbers, in the course of the last century; and suddenly came forth all awake among us, at the commencement of the present. From that period to this he has gone on, taking his rounds through the island; seducing the ignorant, the unwary, and the fantastical; and making peculiar havock, among the Dissenters from our church. These unhappy brethren, as they have dropt their original enthusiasm, seem to have lost their only guard of orthodoxy with it. And in the new light, which is now breaking in upon their opened eyes, by a very extraordinary fatality they see not the folly of their dissension, to terminate it; or even the absurdity of their extemporaneous prayers, to correct it; but see forsooth! the weakness of the church of Christ in all ages, embrace the tenets of a Cerinthus, and reject the doctrines of a St. John.

We have also too much reason, to lament the growth of Arianism in the very pale of the church itself. Two of our church, two even of our Clerical Order, have particularly distinguished themselves in

propagating this heresy among us. These are Dr. CLARKE and Mr. WHISTON; men eminent for their learning, exemplary in their lives, and as much an honour to Arianism as Arianism is a disgrace to them. And to these we may principally attribute that spirit and vigour, with which a doctrine so reprobated by an apostle, so proscribed by the Fathers, and so crushed in our own island for ages, is *now* appearing among us.

The character of Dr. Clarke, has lent considerable encouragement to it. The good-sense, the judiciousness, and the precision of such a scholar, might well do so. These still throw a strong and bright ray of intellect, over the gloom of this Jewish heresy. But one thing is little known, which turns all these qualities of his understanding, *against* the very heresy which they have supported. NEAR THE CLOSE OF LIFE, HE GREATLY REPENTED OF WHAT HE HAD DONE.

Nor let any one think, that I speak this upon incompetent authority. I speak it upon the best. I speak it upon that of a man, who in early life had been even an infidel himself, was converted by the celebrated Fenelon, and reports only what he received from Dr. Clarke's own lips. In a letter, which the celebrated Chevalier De Ramsay wrote to the younger Racine in April 1742, about twelve or thirteen years only after the death of Dr. Clarke; and which has been published by the younger, in
the

the works of the elder; he has these remarkable words, as translated literally from the French, “ Sir Isaac Newton,” he says, “ who was a great “ geometrician and no metaphysician, was per- “ suaded of the truth of Christianity; but was “ willing to refine upon the antient errors of the East, “ and revived Arianism by the instrumentality of his “ famous disciple and interpreter [in natural philoso- “ phy], Dr. CLARKE; who owned to me some time “ before his death, after several conferences that I “ had held with him, HOW MUCH HE REPENTED HE “ HAD PUBLISHED HIS WORK [his Scripture doc- “ trine of the Trinity, published in 1712, and re- “ published in 1719]. It is about a dozen years “ since, that at London I was witness to the last sen- “ timents of this modest and virtuous doctor.” And as Mr. Ramsay here opens to us the private history of Sir Isaac Newton a little, for THE GRAND RE- VIVER among us of that antient error of the East, Arianism; so does he disclose one of the awful se- crets of the grave, concerning the last and conclud- ing sentiments of his instrument, Dr. Clarke^e.

This

^e Oeuvres de Mr. L. Racine, iii. 199—200. sixieme edition. Amsterdam. 1750. “ M. le Chevalier Newton, grand geometre et “ nullement metaphysicien, etoit persuade de la verité de la religion, “ mais il voulut raffiner sur d’anciennes erreurs orientales, et re- “ nouveilla l’Arianisme par l’organe de son fameux disciple et in- “ terprete M. Clarke; qui m’avoua quelque tems avant que de “ mourir, apres plusieurs conferences que j’avois eues avec lui, “ combien

This letter of Mr. Ramsay's was first brought before the publick in our own island, by that lively man

“ combien il se repentoit d'avoir fait imprimer son ouvrage. Je fus
 “ temoin, il y a douze ans a Londres, des derniers sentimens de ce
 “ modeste et vertueux Docteur.” This letter is dated “ a Pontoise
 “ le 28. Avril 1742 ;” Dr. Clarke died May 17, 1729; and “ about
 “ a dozen years back” from the former, will bring us up to the
 latter. In 1697, Dr. Clarke published a new edition of Rohault's
 Physicks, in a Latin translation, and with notes drawn chiefly from
 the lately published *Principia* of Newton. In 1706 he published a
 Latin translation of Newton's *Opticks*, and received 500*l.* as a gene-
 rous acknowledgment from the author for it. And in 1728, after
 the death of Newton, he vindicated, in the Philosophical Transac-
 tions, Newton's doctrine of the velocity and force in moving bodies,
 against some recent objections.

Concerning Sir Isaac Newton himself let me observe, that he has
 been represented by some writers on the alledged authority of Mr.
 Whiston, to have been angry at Mr. Whiston *for declaring him to*
be an Arian, and to have *therefore* kept him out of the Royal Society.
I wish this was true. But unhappily it is not. And Mr. Whiston
 tells us so himself. “ Now if the reader desire to know,” he says,
 “ the reason of Sir Isaac Newton's unwillingness to have me a mem-
 “ ber; he must take notice, that—I did enjoy a large portion of
 “ his favour for twenty years together: but he then perceiving,
 “ that I could not do as his other darling friends did, that is, learn
 “ of him without contradicting him; when I differed in opinion
 “ from him, he could not in his old age bear such contradiction;
 “ and so he was afraid of me, the last thirteen years of his life.—He
 “ was of the most fearful, cautious, and suspicious temper, that I
 “ ever knew” (Whiston's *Memoirs of himself*, p. 293—294).
 Whatever weight there may be in the *general* testimony of Mr.
 Whiston, against the character of Sir Isaac; yet it forms a decisive
 evidence, that Mr. Whiston attributes Sir Isaac's opposition to him
 in the Royal Society, to a principle very different from aversion to
 the name of an Arian. “ Nay, I afterwards found,” adds Mr.
 Whiston,

man of taste and elegance, that critick and poet in one, Dr. Joseph Warton; in his agreeably miscellaneous Essay, on the Writings and Genius of Mr. Pope. It then spoke to the conviction of every thinking reader. That notorious but honest Arian Mr. Lindsay, therefore, has been very naturally endeavouring since, to annihilate its authority by opposing its testimony. And the Arian arguments are drawn up in full force, by the respectable but Arian editor of the new Biographia Britannica, in his additions to the original life of Dr. Clarke. The latter speaks out against the account at once, and in these terms. "We have no hesitation," cries Dr. Kippis, "in declaring we believe it to be an absolute falsehood^f." Such a sweeping declaration as this at the outset, leaves us little chance for fair criticism. And we accordingly find the arguments produced by him, uncritical and unfair, the mere result of Arian prejudice. "We have nothing—to conclude," says first Mr. Lindsay here cited by him, "but that this tale of Dr. Clarke's reconversion,—is nothing but an anecdote of Mr. Ramsay's own invention^g." This is one of those dashing strokes of vigour, which always mark the headlong genius of

Whiston in another place, "that Sir Isaac Newton was so hearty for the Baptists, as well as for the—Arians; that he sometimes suspected, *these two* were the *two witnesses* in the Revelation" (p. 206). Such a wild Arian was he!

^f iii. p. 606.

^g P. 607.

bigotry,

bigotry. The violence of the effort, oversets the maker of it. Every candid mind, that knows the character of Mr. Ramsay, must revolt at the affrontive imputation. The editor therefore, though he himself has shown so similar a spirit above, is startled at the sight of his own and Mr. Lindsay's bigotry, when it appears in so strange a shape before him. He has "always considered" Mr. Ramsay, he says, "as not only a man of ingenuity, but of a respectable moral character." And he sets aside with as easy a hand as he can, an imputation that every man of liberality must reject with disdain. "We are willing to suppose," he adds, "that he [Mr. Ramsay] mistook some expression in his conversation with Dr. Clarke; and that this mistake, operating on a sanguine disposition and a warm imagination, ripened in a course of years into the assertion he has made, without his absolutely intending to deliver a falsehood^h." We have thus the features of bigotry again, but in a softer form. Positive evidence is again to be overborne, by a mere supposition. The editor, like Mr. Lindsay, apparently feels himself *interested* in the cause; and *so* retires, like him, before the force of evidence into the subterfuge of supposition. Substance is thus encountered by shadows; and all the principles of evidence are set aside, to save the Arian reputation of this instrumental reviver of Arianism in Britain.

^h P. 607.

But the supposition *now*, is *against* the very *terms* of the evidence. Mr. Ramsay's account could not possibly have resulted, from "some expression" mistaken by him. It was actually *preceded*, by several conferences that he "held with the Doctor." And it declares at the *close* of all, "how much" the Doctor "repented" of what he had done. Let us come, therefore, to something like an argument. Let us leave the airy region of suppositions, and settle on the solid ground of facts. Mr. Emlyn, say the editor and Mr. Lindsay together, heard Dr. Clarke, "the March before he died," and only about two months previous to his death, speak "with approbation" of his own Arian corrections of his Common-Prayer Book; Bishop Hoadly declares, that the doctor, "to the day of his death, found no reason to alter" his Arian opinions, and that "all the Doctor's friends knew" this; and the Doctor's son attested in 1771, that his father, "a little before his death, revised his work" against the Trinity, "designedly for a third editionⁱ." These *are* arguments. Yet they cannot overpower the evidence of Mr. Ramsay. They would, if they absolutely contradicted it. They are the united testimony of three against one. But they do not so contradict it. They *are reconcilable to it*. And the whole truth must be deduced, from it and from them together. Dr. Clarke, like Buchanan, occasionally

ⁱ P. 606 and 607.

avowed his repentance, and yet continued his practices. He avowed it fully to Mr. Ramsay, a *foreigner* in situation, and an *orthodox* man in belief. He avowed it to him, “after several conferences;” while he was professing his former sentiments, to his *friends* and *associates* in heresy; and even while he was preparing to republish the very work, which he avowedly repented to have published at all. And thus Buchanan wrote his history, even published it only a month before his death, and so repeated all his enormities again; *amidst* the very confessions of sorrow for them, which he was occasionally making to King James, and which were sadly consummated to his soul, at the hour of death^k. On the whole then, the evidence of Mr. Ramsay stands too strong, to be blown away by surmises; too reconcilable with the other evidences, to be either annihilated or even counteracted by them; and too decisive in itself, to be doubted. Mr. Ramsay had “several conferences” with the doctor. These were “some time before his death;” though so near it, as to witness to Mr. Ramsay what they must witness to every man, who knows the laws of historical credibility, “the last sentiments” of the Doctor. At the close of these, the Doctor avowed to Mr. Ramsay what he was too timid to avow to his son, to a Hoadly, or to an Emlyn; and what he even took

^k Mary Queen of Scots Vindicated, iii. p. 441—450. edit. 2d.

pains to conceal from them, in a seeming continuance of opinions, and in an actual perseverance of conduct; "*how much* he repented he had published "his work." The behaviour of Buchanan, so parallel to the doctor's, serves at once to ascertain and illustrate it; only not running parallel, I fear, in the concluding repentance of the death-bed, and so leaving us with a hope less lively than we would wish to have, for the doctor. And all shows the *reason* of those notions, which have been floating in air so long, concerning some final change of sentiments in this EBION of Britain; draws them down from their airy situation, to earth; and substantiates them for ever.

Having however noticed the dissimulation in Dr. Clarke's character, let me here corroborate the charge by reference to another fact. The shuffling of the Arians in the fourth century, when they first rose into consequence, has been pointed out by the evidence of history. Athanasius remarks expressly the "cunning," the "dishonest practices," and the "artifices of impiety," with which they acted towards the church. In the dexterity of dissimulation, they leaped over every bar, which the church set up against their heresy. They accepted any formulary of faith, that was proposed to them; but fraudulently accepted it in a sense, which annihilated its import and use. "Being questioned," says Dr. Bull, "whether they acknowledged the Son to be
" generated

“ generated from the Father himself; they assented,
 “ understanding forsooth the Son to be *so* from God,
 “ as *all creatures* are from God, that is, have their
 “ beginning of existence from him. When the
 “ Catholicks enquired of them, whether they con-
 “ fessed the Son of God to be God; they instantly
 “ answered, Yes. They even made an addition,
 “ and declared the Son of God to be *very God*. But
 “ in what sense? Forsooth *he is very God*, who *was*
 “ *verily made God*. Finally, when they were cen-
 “ sured by the Catholicks for affirming the Son of
 “ God to be a creature, they denied the charge
 “ with some indignation; in this sense forsooth
 “ which they reserved to themselves, that the Son
 “ of God is not a creature *as other creatures are*,
 “ which were formed mediately by God through
 “ the Logos, and not immediately as the Logos
 “ himself!.” Such was the duplicity of the Arians
 then!

1 P. 33. “ Addit Athanasius—Arianorum penè incredibilem,
 “ et bonis omnibus planè detestandam, τὴν πανουργίαν, sive (ut alibi
 “ loquitur idem Athanasius) τὴν κακουργίαν καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀσεβείας κακο-
 “ τεχνίαν.—Rogati, an agnoscerent Filium ex ipso Patre genitum
 “ esse; annuebant, intelligentes nimirum Filium ita ex Deo esse,
 “ quomodo omnes creaturæ ex Deo sunt, hoc est, ab ipso existendi
 “ initium habent. An Deum faterentur Deī Filium, cū ab ipsis
 “ Catholici sciscitarentur; illico respondebant, Omnino. Quin et
 “ Filium Dei ἀληθινὸν θεόν, *verum Deum*, ultrà prædicabant. Quo
 “ demum sensu? Scilicet γενομένος ἀληθινός, ἀληθινός ἐστιν, i. e. *Verus*
 “ *est Deus, qui vere factus est Deus*. Denique cū a Catholicis de
 “ eo arguerentur, quòd Filium Dei creaturam dicerent, accusati-
 “ onem

then! And Dr. Clarke was an Arian in this respect, as well as in others. Being called upon by the Convocation in 1714, to answer for the Arianism of his late publication, “the Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity;” he showed himself as dexterous a dissembler, as any of the Arians of antiquity. He presented a paper on July the 2d. to the Upper House, in which he formally and solemnly, under his own hand, declared “his opinion” to be; “that the *Son* of God was ETERNALLY begotten, by the ETERNAL incomprehensible power and will of the Father; and that the *Holy Spirit* was likewise ETERNALLY derived from the Father, *by* and *through* the *Son*, according to the ETERNAL incomprehensible power and will of the Father^m.” He thus asserted the DIVINITY of the Son and Holy Ghost, in the clearest and most conclusive manner; by affirming the CO-ETERNITY of the Son with the Father, and the CO-ETERNITY of the Holy Ghost with both. There cannot possibly, in all the compass of theology, be found any stronger and preciser symbol of DIVINITY; than a continuity of ex-

“onem non sine indignatione aliquâ respuebant; hęc nimirum
 “sensu sibi ipsis reservato, creaturam non esse Dei Filium sicut
 “cæteræ creaturæ, quæ mediatè a Deo διὰ τῆς Λογῆς, non immediatè
 “sicut ipse Λόγος, conditæ fuerunt.—Vide omnino, quæ hęc de re
 “scripsit Athanasius in Epistolâ ad Africanos episcopos, recitatâ a
 “Theodorito Eccl. Hist. lib. i. c. 8.”

^m Biographia Britannica, iii. p. 602.

H h

istence,

istence, running parallel with the existence of God the Father himself, and extending backwards with it up to the commencing point, of a never-commencing eternity. It is peculiarly levelled too in the Son of God, against the grand axiom of Arianism, which was formed by Arius, and became the *tessera* of his party; that “there was a time in which “the Son was notⁿ.” Accordingly, as we are told by the very friends of Dr. Clarke, “Bishop Smal-
“ridge, whose opinion was chiefly regarded” in the Upper House, “had dropped some words before-
“hand intimating; that, “as to other of Doctor
“Clarke’s metaphysical notions about the Trinity,
“he did not think it necessary to proceed to their
“condemnation, *provided* he would but declare he
“believed the ETERNITY of the *Son* of God^o.” And Dr. Clarke even added to his declaration of belief in this ETERNITY, that he was “sorry,—
“what he sincerely intended for the honour and
“glory of God; and so to explain this great
“mystery, as to *avoid* the *heresies* in *both* extremes;
“should have given any offence to this Synod^p.” But Dr. Clarke *confirmed* what he had declared concerning this ETERNITY, in a paper which he called an *explanation*, and which he presented to the Upper House three days afterwards. On July 5th he de-

ⁿ ΗΥ ΠΟΤΕ ΟΤΕ ΉΚ ΗΥ (Theodorit i. 4 and 8. p. 11 and 29).

^o Biog. Brit. p. 602.

^p Ibid. *ibid*.

livered a declaration, and equally under his own hand, “that, whereas the paper laid before their Lordships the Friday before, was through *haste* and *want of time* not drawn up *with sufficient exactness*,” &c. “he thought himself *indispensably obliged in conscience* to acquaint their Lordships, that he did not mean thereby *to retract any thing he had written*, but to declare that *the opinion set forth at large in his Scripture Doctrine*,” &c. “is, that the Son was ETERNALLY begotten by the ETERNAL incomprehensible power and will,” &c.^q. Thus did he, when he was in no “haste,” when he had had full “time,” and when therefore he must have drawn up his paper “with sufficient exactness,” repeat his former assertion in his *former terms*; and not only affirm his belief to be at present, but to have previously been, and to have been *actually set forth by his late publication*, a belief in the ETERNITY of the Son of God. He consequently pledged himself to the convocation, to the church, and to the world, if he had any credit among men, and any hope in God; to be, and to have been, a firm believer in the CO-ETERNITY of the Son with the Father. And though he did not in either of these papers, as the Lower House justly observed, make “any *recantation* of the heretical assertions and offensive passages” in his work; and indeed *could* not formally

^q Biog. Brit. p. 602.

do so, as he declared he *meant* to set forth the ETERNITY of the Son by them, and by this “to avoid
 “the heresies in both extremes,” those of Arianism and of Sabellianism; yet he vitally and substantially did it, by solemnly declaring his *meaning* to be just the reverse of what it was, by disclaiming his Arianism in the most pointed manner, and by confessing his belief for the present and for the past, in the positive ETERNITY of the Son of God. This was
 “such satisfaction for the great scandal occasioned
 “thereby,” to speak the language of the Lower House; as this House should have accepted, but would not. The Upper, however, more justly conceived the satisfaction already given, in a total disavowal of all intended Arianism, and in a solemn acknowledgment of a grand principle diametrically opposite to Arianism; to be such, “as ought to
 “put a stop to any farther examination and censure” of the work^r. And in this way did Dr. Clarke escape from the hands of the Convocation, by an act of knavery that must for ever stain his memory, by a violent infringement upon all honesty and honour, by a written, a repeated, a grand falsehood.

Accordingly some even of his Arian friends blamed him, for his dishonest conduct; and called his declaration of present and *previous* belief, in the ETERNITY of the Son and Spirit, “a new declara-

^r Biog. Brit. p. 602.

“tion

“tion of his belief, of a SORT of Eternity^s.” The Arians in general, I believe, have applauded his prudence; so have made his dishonesty their own; and have shown themselves as ready to palter with mankind as he was, in all the original ingenuity of Arian imposition. He himself had once the conviction and the shame of falsehood, so strong upon him; as to denominate the delivery of his declaration, “a foolish thing.” Yet he consummated the whole system of prevarication, by “constantly and “vigorously maintaining” a “metaphysick opinion” of “his own;” that “*any creature whatsoever* might “*possibly* have been CO-ETERNAL with its Creator^u.” He thus took “occasion,” as his very friend and historian thinks^x, from this mere *possibility* in *his own* opinion, to assert an *actual* and *existing* Eternity in the Son; in the most formal and solemn manner to assert that ETERNITY in the Son, which, in the language of all mankind, peculiarly discriminated the Son from a creature, merely because he thought it *possible* a creature *might* be eternal; and so to ground a *positive* assertion, to the deception of all the world, on a reserved *surmise* of his own, and a merely metaphysical *possibility*. And he finally showed himself willing, to throw all the elements of common sense into disorder, and to reduce the whole

^s Biog. Brit. p. 602.
101. edit. 2d.

^t So does Maclaine in Mosheim, v.

^u Biog. Brit. p. 602.

^x Ibid. *ibid*.

world of intellect into a chaos, in his supposed possibility of a *creature* being *co-eternal* with his *Creator*; that he might plunge into the deep from detection, and escape with his Arianism in the confusion ^y.

From all this dissimulation and dishonesty while he lived, and from all that privately acknowledged, but publickly disclaimed, repentance before he died; two remarkable incidents in the history of the Doctor, which are similar in themselves, and lend a luster to each other; Arianism, I think, has derived a greater portion of spirit; and the cold statue has been animated, with more of Promethean fire; from Mr. Whiston than from him. By no means equal to the Doctor in solidity of understanding, he was superior in dignity of soul. The Doctor refused to take any more preferment, because he would no longer subscribe what he did not believe. But Mr. Whiston did more. He resigned up all which he held, because he held it by subscribing that doc-

^y Such conduct was never exceeded even among the Arians, unless it was by Arius himself. Arius subscribed before the Emperor, to his belief in the *consubstantiality* of the Son with the Father; just as Dr. Clarke did to his belief, in the *co-eternity* of the Son. Arius was then *sworn* by the Emperor, to the sincerity of his belief in what he had subscribed. And Arius was *reported* in the days of Socrates, to have salved his oath in some measure as Dr. Clarke salved his attestation; the modern Arius, by a reserved supposition of what is impossible in itself; and the antient, by a subscribed confession of Arianism, which he had previously placed under his arm, and to which he secretly referred his oath. See Socrates's Eccl. Hist. i. 38. p. 74. in Reading vol. 2d.

trine as true, which he now considered as false. This was honourable and exalted conduct. This carried the spirit of a confessor in it. And Arianism, we may observe, can then only become formidable in our church; when it has a spring of elasticity within it, sufficient to produce such confessors, as we have seen *some* in our own days, and as our fathers saw *one* for the first time in Mr. Whiston. With the obvious prevalence of selfishness in the human bosom, the multitude very naturally suspect it, to be the predominating principle of the human conduct. With the acuteness, that this active spirit gives to the most sluggish intellect, the generality have discernment enough to see, when all is sacrificed to probity. And, from that very acuteness and this very selfishness together, they cannot but admire, what they consider as so very singular; and cannot but reverence, what they see raised so greatly above the ordinary level of life.

With this grand advantage on his side, Mr. Whiston came forward to promote Arianism. He continued his efforts and he kept up his zeal, through the period of a long life. Nor does he appear to have faltered at all in his sentiments, at the solemn appeal of sickness or of death to his soul. His spirit was too honest and too headlong, for such work. But let us mark the progress of his Arian life, to show the gradual advances of heresy, in this weak and worthy man. And the memoirs of his

life, as written by *himself*, will prove the most powerful antidote that we can apply, to the venom of his Arian opinions.

In June 1708 he first began to be heard of, in that grand center of all national intelligence, London; as a reputed Arian^z. In the August following, he offered a small Essay on the Apostolical Constitutions, to the licencer of the press at Cambridge; and was refused the licence^a. In 1709 he actually published a Sermon, against the eternity of Hell-torments^b. So variously was the spirit of error already at work, in his mind! In 1710 he boldly asserted the Apostolical Constitutions, to be “of *equal* authority “with the four Gospels themselves^c,” and a tract included in them, and called the Doctrine of the Apostles, to be “the *most* sacred of the Canonical “Books^d.” So rapidly was he running his career of wildness! But, in 1712, he published in favour of the Anabaptists; the next year, printed a Book of Common Prayer, that had been reformed the backward way into Anabaptism and Arianism; and, two years afterward, set up a meeting-house for the use of it: having strangely drawn up his liturgy, before he had provided his church^e. All this was surely sufficient for *one* heretick. But the stone of Sisyphus could never stand still. In 1723 he pub-

^z Memoirs, p. 139.

^a Ibid. *ibid.*

^b P. 144—145.

^c P. 179.

^d P. 372 and 639.

^e P. 204, 224, and 236.

lished

lished a dissertation, to prove the Canticles *not* a canonical Book of Scripture^f, in 1727 another, to prove the Apocryphal Book of Baruch, to which I have referred so much before, canonical^g; in the *same* year another, to prove the Epistle of Baruch to the nine tribes and a half, equally canonical^h; in the *same* year another, to prove the second Book of Esdras, to which I have equally referred before, equally canonicalⁱ; in the *same* year another, to prove Eighteen Psalms of a second Solomon, equally canonical^k; in the *same* year another, to prove the Book of Enoch equally canonical^l; in the *same* year another, to prove those Testaments of the twelve Patriarchs, of which I have made so much use before, equally canonical^m; and another in the very *same* year, to prove an Epistle of the Corinthians to St. Paul, with St. Paul's Answer to it, equally canonicalⁿ. With so much labour of spirit, and so much debility of mind, was this respectable heretick rolling the stone up the hill.

^f P. 309.

^g P. 329.

^h Ibid. *ibid.*

ⁱ P. 195, 196, and 329. Mr. Whiston, in p. 196, calls it "the second, or rather the fourth, Book of Esdras." So, in the 6th of the 39 articles, the first and second Books of Esdras are called the third and fourth. And "tertius Esdræ Latinorum, est primus Græcis" (Cofin, p. 114). Ezra and Nehemiah, as I have observed in a note iii. 2 before, are in this mode of enumeration reckoned for the first and second of Esdras.

^k P. 329.

^l P. 330.

^m Ibid.

ⁿ P. 330—331 and 386—387.

With

With many a weary step and many a groan,
 Up the high hill he heaves the huge round stone;
 The huge round stone, resulting with a bound,
 Thunders impetuous down, and smokes along the ground,
 Again the restless orb his toil renews,
 Dust mounts in clouds, and sweat descends in dews.

In 1745, he published his "*Primitive New Testament in English, in four parts;*" and added a page at the end, "exhibiting the *titles* of the *rest* of the Books of the New Testament, not yet known by the *body* of Christians." Among *these* were specified, *besides* the works above recited, "the Epistles of Timothy to *Diognetus*, and *the Homily*," the "two Epistles of Clement to the Corinthians," "Josephus's Homily concerning Hades," the "Epistles of Barnabas, Ignatius, and Polycarp," the "Shepherd of Hermas," and what I have cited with applause before, "the Martyrdom of Polycarp^o." He thus, according to *his own* enumeration, enlarged the number of the canonical books in the New Testament, from twenty-seven to —fifty-six^p. And he seems to me from all, with every degree of candor that can be shown him, to have done as some Eastern Saints are said to do; to have run round in a circle, till he found his brains begin to whirl; and then to have mistaken the giddiness, for inspiration.

• P. 386—387.

• P. 399.

I take no pleasure in exposing the strange eccentricities, of this very amiable and very learned man. My good-nature recoils at it. But it becomes requisite, for the sake of the truth. In a state of probation like the present, the milder virtues must often be sacrificed to the sterner, and man give way to God. I therefore proceed to observe additionally, that in 1749, he *gradually* reached the highest point of *heretical* perfection.

He gravely asserted first, that “neither a Bishop, “a Presbyter, nor a Deacon, ought to be more “than—once married;” that “Primitive Christi- “anity also forbid, either Bishops, Presbyters, or “Deacons, *to marry at all after their ordination;*” and that, “in the days of the Apostles, a *fourth* “marriage was entirely *rejected*, even in the *laity*.” He also ventured upon the bold presumption, of ascertaining the very year “according to the Scrip- “ture prophecies,” for certain events of the highest consequence to the world; and, such was the ingenuous simplicity of the man, was confident enough to name a year *at no great distance*. “Mr. Whif-

¶ P. 467 and 468. See also p. 540.

¶ P. 608. He once (in 1712) acted a more cunning part, referred a *past* event to the Revelations, saw there the victory which Prince Eugene had *already* got over the Turks, and presented a dissertation to Prince Eugene himself upon the subject; who is said with great propriety to have replied, that he was not aware before, he had the honour to be known to St. John. But at other times his views were as here stated, all prophetick.

“ton,”

“ton,” he says himself, “from the same prophecies still foretells,—the JEWS are to be RESTORED TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY,”—in or before what year, does the reader think?—even before one, which *has long passed over our heads*. This throws an air of infinite absurdity, over all that he says. They are to “rebuild their Temple, and the Millennium is to commence, before—A. D. 1766^s.” In “A. D. 1764,” he adds, “—Ezekiel’s temple is to be cleansed.” And “I verily believe,” he assures us in another place, “Providence is—NOW—BEGINNING TO SET UP THE MILLENNIUM.” *We* thus hear the Prophet, most unfortunately foretelling magnificent events, and assigning specifick periods to them; when the periods have been already come, and the events are still behind.

But such a spirit as Mr. Whiston’s could not stop here. He had nearly run the whole round of theological absurdity. One line only was left untried. This he passed, and compleated the circle. In the very *same* year he rose to the audacious licence, of asserting the FALSHOOD of some things in St. Paul’s Epistles. His words are these. I cite them, that I may not injure him. “What St. Paul says to the Jewish converts, in his Epistle to the Romans, about Original Sin;—seem to have been no part

• P. 608.

† Ibid.

• P. 626.

“ of CHRIST’S REVELATION to him.” What are they then, in the name of Christianity and of Common sense? They are, Mr. Whiston tells us, “ rather certain reasonings of HIS OWN, accommodated “ to the WEAK Roman Jews at that time only ^x.” He then calls them, “ these STRANGE and WEAK “ reasonings ^y.” St. Paul, he adds, “ might do this “ the rather, because he never appears to have de- “ signed such occasional Epistles, as this to the Ro- “ mans, for systems or standards of Christianity to “ the churches; which indeed had been LONG BE- “ FORE settled upon SURER foundations and FULLER “ instructions, as they stand in the ONLY AUTHEN- “ TICK system of Christianity, the Apostolical Con- “ stitutions ^z.” And he finally subjoins, that, “ if, “ after all, any think that this my opinion *takes away* “ the *strict inspiration* of Paul’s Epistles, which they “ *suppose* of dangerous consequence to Christianity; “ I CONFESS it *does* imply, that under what degree of “ Divine conduct or wisdom soever Paul wrote his “ Epistles,—yet is THAT degree to be esteemed IN- “ FERIOR to what OUGHT to be PROPERLY CALLED “ INSPIRATION, such as the Prophets were under in “ the reception of their prophecies; which PROPER “ INSPIRATION I take to be here GROUNDLESS, and “ NEVER PRETENDED TO by ANY writers of the New “ Testament, *excepting the prophetick parts* of Her-

^x P. 638.^y P. 639.^z Ibid.

“ mas,

“mas, in his admirable visions, and the *prophetick*
 “*parts* of *St. John*, in his *no less* admirable Revela-
 “tion.” We here see the wilderness of error, by
 its own luxuriance of growth, entangling itself more
 and more, and shooting more and more savage be-
 fore us at every advance. With a temerity that is
 the result of insensibility, and the attendant upon un-
 thinkingness; Mr. Whiston asserted the Epistle of
 St. Paul to the Romans, to have some things in it,
 “which *seem* to have been no part of Christ’s Re-
 “velation to him.” Here, surely, even the foot
 of injudiciousness and presumption will stop. But
 Mr. Whiston does not. He goes forward to *defend*
 this wild dictate of heretical pravity. He distin-
 guishes between the inspiration of the prophet, and
 the inspiration of the teacher. That alone he will
 allow to be proper inspiration. The other therefore
 is not a proper one, and only such as admits of
 “strange and weak reasonings.” He thus defends
 his absurd position, by—doubling and redoubling it.
 He defends it, by—adding tenfold more to it. He
 involves ALL the Epistles of St. Paul, in the same
 extravagance of censure. He even goes on in the
 presumption of blindness, and without seeming to
 know what his hand is executing at the moment;
 to involve ALL THE OTHER Epistles, to involve the
 very ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, and to involve the
 very GOSPELS themselves, in his ample vortex of

^a P. 642.

reprobation.

reprobation. And what understanding is there among my readers, but must spurn with contempt at such a violent precipitation of folly; and what heart is there, but must sigh with compassion over such an evident sweep of madness^b?

Mr. Whiston came at last, we see, to that grand consummation of the lunacies of heresy, to which we have seen the present Herefiarch of the Dissension, Dr. PRIESTLEY, since come. “The Apostle PAUL,” says the Doctor, “especially if he be the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, has STRAINED VERY MUCH BY THE FORCE OF IMAGINATION, to reconcile the Jews to the Christian religion; by pointing out the analogies, which he IMAGINED the rites and ceremonies of the Jewish religion bore, to something in Christianity.” Dr. Priestley thus *insinuates* his disbelief in the inspiration of St. Paul, at the beginning of his work. But he *speaks out*, near the conclusion of it. “I

^b It appears accordingly from Bishop Hare’s character of him, even as surprisingly recited by himself; that his contemporaries considered him in this light. “They,” says the Bishop, “who speak most favourably of him, look upon him as crazed and little better than a madman” (Memoirs, p. 118). Something of this perhaps may be attributed, to the temperament of his body. “I have been a valetudinarian,” he says himself, “and greatly subject to the Flatus Hypochondriaci in various shapes, all my life long—. A lesser degree of melancholy always has, and I suppose always will, continue with me all the days of my life” (Memoirs, p. 18—19). But, whatever be the cause, the effect is too apparent, and was so to those who knew him personally.

“ think

“ think I have *shown*,” he then adds in a reference to some other work of his, “ that the Apostle Paul
 “ OFTEN REASONS INCONCLUSIVELY ; and *therefore*
 “ that he wrote AS ANY OTHER PERSON, of his turn
 “ of mind and thinking, and in his situation, WOULD
 “ HAVE WRITTEN, without ANY PARTICULAR IN-
 “ SPIRATION .” In this manner did Dr. Priestley, like Mr. Whiston, *begin* with denying the inspiration of St. Paul only. And, like him too, he soon stepped forward to deny equally the inspiration of *all* the writers in the New Testament. “ I have
 “ frequently declared myself,” he says in a passage as comprehensive as it is confident, “ NOT TO BE A
 “ BELIEVER in the INSPIRATION, of the EVANGE-
 “ LISTS and APOSTLES as WRITERS^d.” And the *progression* of the audaciousness unites with the termination of it, to show in whose trammels this daring son of liberty is servilely pacing all the while. The Doctor and Mr. Whiston, indeed, have many features of similitude in their characters. Eminent in some branches of literature, they had been both bred up in the very bosom of religiousness. They had been both educated, in that great and elementary principle of the Gospel, the doctrine of the Trinity. They both recoiled from the faith of

^c Hist. of the Corruptions of Christianity, i. p. 24, and ii. p. 370.

^d Letters to Dr. Horsley, Part i. p. 132, Dr. Horsley's Tracts, p. 314.

their

their education, threw off the elementary principle, and deserted over to the army of the Arians. They then had the wild assurance, to pretend to press the Fathers, those strongest and most strenuous champions for orthodoxy, into the very cause of heresy. Each too has been very like to the other, in confusedness of thinking, and in distractedness of reasoning, upon the subject. They have gone on, equal in the love of writing, and in the lust of publishing, upon it; still persisting, however confused; still muffling themselves up from conviction, in their own cloudiness of discernment; and still screening themselves from shame, in their own effrontery of writing about it. And they have dreadfully united at last, in this high note upon the scale of absurdity, at which Heresy is mounting up into Deism; that St. Paul, that all the Apostles, that all the Evangelists, reasoned at times as weakly and as wildly as themselves^e.

VI.—Mr.

^e Of the Heresiarch it is remarkable, that his power of doing mischief, however strong his will may be, is greatly circumscribed. Men may write, but persons must buy to give vent to their writings. Dr. Priestley's false theology, from its equal flimsiness and heaviness and length, has few buyers. He stands therefore like Charles the Second in armour, not to be much hurt perhaps, and certainly not able to do much hurt. And his writings are only waiting for his death, I understand, to be sent by his publisher in cartloads, to the shop of the trunkmaker adjoining. Well may we then, with an allusion at once complimentary, satirical, and just, consider Dr. Priestley as an antient Giant, warring with *Heaven*, and staggering

— VI. —

Mr. Whiston indeed might have read an useful lesson of warning, in the unhappy fate of Mr. CHILLINGWORTH, and in the more unhappy one of two of his own associates in sentiment; all recorded by himself. But warnings are held out in vain, to the unthinking. That ray of wisdom, which is reflected back from the incidents of life, or the events of history, before us; shines in vain upon the eye of the unwary. And Mr. Whiston saw, lamented, and related the facts; without once starting at the thoughts of that precipice, down which he saw *them* falling, and towards which he was hastening himself.

“ In August 1746,” he tells us, “ I—was—
“ showed a singular passage, taken out of a printed
“ original letter, written about A. D. 1642, which

under the load of *his uplifted mountain*. In this situation, blasted a little by the lightening, our *Enceladus* of heresy “ *mole ruit suâ;*” and has been *buried beneath the mass*, of *his own unwieldy weapon*. There, however, he is perpetually *shifting from side to side*. And thence he is continually venting his uneasiness, in *murmurs of menace* against his chastisers; and breathing out his resentment, in *volumes of smoke against the sky*.

Fama est, Enceladi semiustum fulmine corpus
Urgeri mole hâc ; ingentemque insuper Ætnam
Impositam, ruptis flammam expirare caminis ;
Et, fessum quoties mutat latus, intremere omnem
Murmure Trinacriam, et cœlum subtexere fumo.

“ directly

“ directly imports; that the great Mr. Chilling-
 “ worth, how sagacious and honest soever, *at last*
 “ defended SOCINIANISM, and was therein utterly
 “ and immediately confuted, by that excellent per-
 “ son the Lord Falkland:—so that this Mr. Chil-
 “ lingworth had a strange diffidence and mutability
 “ of temper; which had made him, when first a
 “ Protestant, to turn Papist; and, when a Papist,
 “ to turn Protestant again; then to favour ARIAN-
 “ ISM,—and on that account in part, by refusing to
 “ sign the thirty-nine articles, to lose some expected
 “ preferment; and, after all, to defend SOCINIAN-
 “ ISM itself: which is such a round of contrarieties,
 “ as is hard to be paralleled in any other learned
 “ man whomsoever. To be sure he at first wanted
 “ my darling motto, *consider well and act steadily*:
 “ nor had he afterwards the Apostolical Constitu-
 “ tions and Canons, for his immoveable guide and
 “ standard; as I have now had near forty years.”
 Such a man is Mr. Chillingworth delineated here,
 by the free pencil of Mr. Whiston himself! But
 Mr. Whiston annexes this kind of cautioning note,
 to the bottom of his picture. “ I mean this only,”
 he says concerning the Socinian cast of his counte-
 nance, “ in case the writer of the letter well under-
 “ stood, the difference between Arianism and Soci-
 “ nianism; which are often confounded one with
 “ another^f.”

^f Whiston's Memoirs, p. 388—389.

The letter itself is in the Sidney Papers, and was written, not "about A. D. 1642," but on August 25, 1643, and "from before Gloucester." It was written by "*Robert* Lord Spencer," says the editor very erroneously; as it was actually written by *Henry* Lord Spencer, made Earl of Sunderland June 8, 1643, son to Lord William, and *father* to Earl *Robert*[§]; and written by him "to his lady, Dorothy "daughter of Robert Earl of Leicester." And "this country," it says, is "very full of little private cottages, in one of which I am quartered; "where my Lord Falkland did me the honour, last "night to sup: *Mr. Chillingworth* is now here with "me—; *our little engineer* comes not hether, so "much out of kindness to me, as for his own convenience, my quarter being three or four miles "nearer the leager, than my Lord of Devonshire's, "with whom he stayed, till he was commanded to "make ready his engines with all possible speed. It "is not to be imagined, with what diligence and "satisfaction (I mean to himself) he executes this "command; for my part, I think it not unwisely "done of him to *change* his *profession*; and I think "you would have been of my mind, if you had heard "him dispute last night with Lord Falkland, in favour "of SOCINIANISM, wherein he was by his Lordship

§ Sidney Papers, ii. p. 67, and Collins's Peerage, i. 370 and 375. edit. 4th.

“*so often* confounded, that really it appears he has
 “*much more reason* for his *engine*, than for his *opinion*.”
 This is the passage referred to by Mr. Whiston. A
 very remarkable one it is. It speaks in express
 terms, to the Socinianism of Mr. Chillingworth.
 Yet Mr. Whiston is naturally desirous, to save a
 brother Arian from the shocking imputation. He
 therefore *insinuates* a doubt, whether the author of
 the letter might not mistake Socinianism for Arian-
 ism. Another doubt may equally and as reasonably
 be *insinuated*, whether he did not mean to *write*
 Arianism, and his pen, unfaithful to his ideas, er-
 roneously formed Socinianism. Of such doubts
 there is no end. And to such can no attention be
 paid. They only show the unwillingness of those
 who *insinuate* them, to admit an evidence that grates
 hard upon their brotherly feelings. Yet the doubt
 has been lately revived by another Arian; and, in
 the progress of affection, is no longer insinuated,
 but produced as an argument of weight and force.
 “It is *highly probable*,” says Dr. Kippis in the new
 Biographia Britannica, “that the writer of the letter
 “did *not* understand the difference, between Arian-
 “ism and Socinianism; *for*, with regard to the lat-
 “ter charge, he hath decisively cleared himself of
 “it, in the preface to his “Religion of Protestants
 “the True Way to Salvationⁱ.” The reason af-

^b Sidney Papers, ii. p. 669.

ⁱ iii. p. 517—518.

signed for the doubt, is just as valid as the doubt itself. Neither of them are of the slightest moment. The reason is particularly loose and vague. That Mr. Chillingworth disputed with Lord Falkland "in favour of Socinianism," on the 24th of August 1643; we know from the written testimony of a nobleman, who was an actual hearer of the dispute, and who set down his testimony the very day following. Against such an evidence, so present at the moment, so precise in his language, and speaking so close to the fact; what can possibly be alledged? This is; that Mr. Chillingworth could not *then* speak as a Socinian, because *five years before*^k he declared himself no Socinian. A pillar of adamant is thus to be beaten down, by the wooden sword of a Harlequin. In that state of our nation indeed, when the whole island was agitated with religious, as well as political, controversies; and when Socinianism was so much one of the subjects of contention, that it was particularly obnoxious to the generality; the Earl of Sunderland must have been weak indeed, not to know the general import of the term. Yet he is the noble, whom Clarendon praises as "a
 " Lord of great fortune, tender years,—and an *early*
 " *judgment*;" and whom Lloyd celebrates, as having had a regular "education" under a "tutor
 " crooked with age," at Magdalen college in Oxford, and as having there been "inured to good

^k See p. 511.

" discourse

“discourse and company¹.” This is the peer, whom Arian credulity believes, not to have known the difference between Arianism and Socinianism; when he had just heard Mr. Chillingworth and Lord Falkland, disputing on the subject before him; when Mr. Chillingworth had five years before vindicated himself in print, from the imputation of Socinianism; and when Mr. Chillingworth had so vindicated himself, because all the nation considered the imputation as infamy. The term Socinianism too, in all probability, had been used by the very disputants themselves. In all probability Lord Falkland had attacked, and Mr. Chillingworth had defended, the point in debate; expressly as Socinianism. The ignorance therefore, if there was any, concerning the difference between Socinianism and Arianism; would mount up to the disputants themselves, and Mr. Chillingworth and Lord Falkland would be chargeable with it. And the whole serves to show us those tricks and frauds of sophistry, which the affection puts upon the judgment; when the plainest declarations of Scripture concerning the Divinity of our Saviour, shall be merely declarations of an angelical nature in him, because the reader is an Arian; and when even the term Socinianism itself shall mean only Arianism, merely because the reader is no Socinian. Supposition shall be heaped on sup-

¹ Collins's Peerage, i. 370, 371, &c.

position, and hill *with all its waving woods*^m piled upon hill, to hide the Heaven of truth from the eye.

We have already seen the infinite absurdities, that accompanied Arianism at its origin among Christians. The seed instantly vegetated in part, into its direct production of Socinianism; and luxuriated into an abundant foliage, of collateral heresies besides. Gildas too observes in this very significant, though vitiated, style of language; concerning the first entry of Arianism into the island: “a passage being made across the ocean” by Arianism, “all sorts of wild beasts, tossing from their horrid mouths the mortal venom of *every* heresy, fixed their deadly fangs upon a country, that is always ready to hear something new, and indeed holds no truth steadilyⁿ.” So nearly does the *introduction* of Arianism into Britain, and the *commencement* of Arianism in the church at large, resemble each the other in their trains of consequence! So nearly do both resemble what we have too sadly felt in this country, during the century that is nearly gone, and that is so dreadfully pointed out to posterity in the annals of our church, by the revival of Arianism and a thousand heresies among us!

^m Εἰνοσιφυλλον. Homer.

ⁿ Hist. ix. “Viâ factâ trans oceanum, omnes omnino bestię feræ, mortiferum cujuslibet hæresios virus horrido ore vibrantes, lethalia dentium vulnera patriæ, semper aliquid audire volenti, et nihil certe [certi] stabiliter obtinenti, infigebant.”

Mr,

Mr. Chillingworth, in fact, had a strong spirit of Socinianism within him. The famous Jesuit Mr. Knot, with whom he held the conference that terminated in his celebrated Vindication of Protestantism, charged him with being a Socinian, so early as the year 1636. Socinianism, says the original biographer of Mr. Chillingworth very truly, was then "the most odious imputation he could find" for him, "and the fittest for his purpose" of prejudicing the publick against him°. Nor was it less just than invidious. For the charge was renewed against him a few years afterwards, and from a quarter directly opposite to the former. The Papists begun with the imputation, and the Presbyterians ended with it. At his death in 1644, Mr. Cheynell at the head of the Presbyterians branded him for a Socinian, as the Jesuit at the head of the Papists had done before. Such was the singular fate of Mr. Chillingworth! The Presbyterians were so fully convinced of the Socinianism, in this grand champion of Protestantism; that they overlooked all his merit in *that*, which seemingly constituted the main spring in their religion, their aversion to Popery; forgot it all in *this*, which they very properly abhorred still more than Popery, his believed Socinianism; and for a time refused him even Christian

burial^p. So violent were their prejudices against Socinianism, and so assured were their minds of his being a Socinian! And, what centres the whole of their conduct in this one mark, Mr. Cheynell afterwards published some points of divinity, which he apprehended to be in the creed and writings of Mr. Chillingworth; and which, as he says himself, he had “framed into a kind of *atheistical* catechism, fit “for *Racovia or Cracovia*^q,” Cracow in Poland being the dunghill hot-bed of Socinianism, to the Christians of Europe. Thus taxed with Socinianism, by Presbyterians and by Papists in conjunction; and the two most hostile parties in the kingdom, forgetting their hostility in an union to tax him with it; whither shall the persecuted Chillingworth fly for protection? He has only his own church, the Church of England, remaining to receive him. Yet even she rejects him. The Earl of Sunderland comes forward, with Cheynell upon one side and Knot on the other, to proscribe him equally for a Socinian. In the year 1643, between the two periods of the Jesuit’s rough attack and the Presbyterian’s rougher assault, he vouches Mr. Chillingworth before *him* and in *his* quarters, to have disputed with Lord Falkland “in favour of Socinianism.” We have thus the concurrence of all the three divisions of men that then filled the island, for

^p P. 514.

^q Ibid.

the *general* prevalence of Socinianism in his mind, during the last eight years of his life; though at one *particular* part of the time, he had, or thought he had, purged his mind from it. Nor, with such a collected weight of evidence for the Socinianism of Mr. Chillingworth, can we hesitate a moment about it. Perhaps no man in the world was ever more plainly convicted of an opinion, that had it not recorded by himself in print. And his Socinianism would never have been endeavoured to be disguised, in the face of such revealing testimony; if the Arians had not thought their cause, *honoured* by him as an Arian, and *disgraced* by him as a Socinian.

It is painful, however, to urge an accusation of this nature, against so respectable a character. But truth must be adhered to, though a Chillingworth suffers. I shall therefore subjoin to all a passage from Lord Clarendon, which Dr. Kippis himself unwarily presents to my notice^r. I shall only enlarge the quotation a little, at the beginning; in order to show the *early* germination of Socinianism, in the mind of this confessed Arian. Mr. Chillingworth at Lord Falkland's house, says the historical friend of both, "wrote, and formed, and modelled
" his excellent book against the learned Jesuit, Mr.
" Knott, after frequent debates upon the most im-
" portant particulars; in many of which he suffered

^r P. 518.

" himself

“ himself to be overruled by the judgment of his
 “ friends, though *in others he still adhered to his own*
 “ *fancy*, which was SCEPTICAL enough, even in the
 “ HIGHEST points.—He had spent all his younger
 “ time in disputation; and had arrived to so great a
 “ mastery, as he was inferior to no man in those
 “ skirmishes: but he had, with his notable perfection
 “ in this exercise, *contracted such an ir-resolution and*
 “ *habit of doubting*, that *by degrees* he grew confi-
 “ dent of NOTHING, and a SCEPTICK at *least* in the
 “ GREATEST MYSTERIES OF FAITH.” This testi-
 mony, from a member of the Church of England
 like Earl Sunderland, from one who knew him for
 years, and from a friend; carries an overbearing
 authority with it, and forms all the three evidences
 before into one invincible band of witnesses. It
 particularly coincides with Mr. Cheynell’s intima-
 tions. It therefore precludes all possible vindication
 of Mr. Chillingworth, from the charge of Socinian-
 ism. And it fixes this or a worse charge upon him,
 for ever.

In the self-confounding ratiocination of his mind,
 and in what was consequent to it, the fluttering im-
 becility of his spirit; Mr. Chillingworth slid down
 the precipice of Arianism, into Socinianism below.
 We have accordingly seen a majority of those, who
first dishonoured the church of Christ with Arian-

* Life of Lord Clarendon, part I. p. 22 and 28-29.

ism, soon sinking into Socinians, in denying the generation of our Saviour, from a Virgin and the Holy Ghost; and so forming that division of Ebionites, which is noticed at first as the principal by Eusebius, and is even considered as the whole by Epiphanius. Cerinthus too, that other father of Arianism in the church, *at once* improved the Arian folly of Ebion and of himself, into the congenial absurdity of Socinianism, in this point; raising himself into the disgraceful pre-eminence, of being the second founder of Arianism and the first founder of Socinianism, among Christians; and exhibiting Socinianism in its just relation to us, as the natural child of Arianism at its outset. But Socinianism was very modest yet. It only showed itself at present, in denying the supernatural and divine origin of our Saviour's humanity. It had not yet dared to sink him into a mere man. It allowed him to be an angel and a man united. The substance of the piece was Arian, but the fringe was Socinian. Nor did the substance become Socinian, till many centuries afterwards. Full-grown Socinianism, that ugliest monster which is possible to be formed, by the speculative impiety of a Christian; made not its frightful appearance in the world, till the latter end of the 16th century. Arianism was the highest effort of rebelling absurdity, before. But Socinianism has now reared its front among us, as Sadduceism showed

showed itself among the Jews, to mark the *last* ages of declension in the church of God. And the “Arian opinions” in our own country, says an author who is a professed Arian, and who, as such, has a peculiar claim to our confidence on *this* point;—“are at present upon the decline, MANY “Unitarian Christians TENDING FAST TO THE DOCTRINE OF SOCINUS^t.” So far did Mr. Chillingworth unite with modern and with antient Arians, in his movements of defection from Christianity! He moved like them, through Arianism into Socinianism. In deserting the plain language of scripture, and reducing our Saviour from his scriptural elevation of Divinity; the foot of human confidence can with difficulty stop, before it comes down to the common level of human nature. It first begun, as we have just seen, with rejecting the Godhead of our Saviour; because (we may be sure) it could not conceive the possibility, of more than one Person in one Deity. It thus stationed our Saviour at the foot of that throne, on which he had sat with the Deity before. So far it is only Arianism. But then what shall it do, with the miraculous conception of our Saviour as a man? It cannot allow the Holy Ghost to be any Person in the Deity, for the same reason that it could not allow our Saviour before. It therefore tore off this other article from

^t Dr. Kippis in New Biographia Britannica, iii. p. 623.

its creed, denied the miraculous conception, and entered upon the very borders of Socinianism. Our Saviour thus becomes a mere man in his birth, and continues so to his baptism; till the angel is superinduced upon the man, and Jesus is joined by Christ. This Christ however departs from Jesus, when he begins to suffer. Our Saviour then sinks into a mere man again. And he ends just as he began. The Arians therefore allowed him a supernatural nature, for the short interval merely of three years. To take it away for those three years; to make our Saviour the same at his sufferings as he was before them, the same for the first thirty years as he was for the last three, and as he apparently was for all; to suppress a superinduction, which is not avowed by scripture, and to preclude a deduction, which is not even hinted at in scripture; was not to do much after what had been done before, and was what “Faustus Socinus, and his Polonian association,” united to do. In this easy and imperceptible manner, may the bad colour of Arianism fade away into the worse of Socinianism. By these insensible degrees, does human nature degradingly suffer itself to be drawn, from the heights of orthodoxy to the deep and dark vale of Socinianism! If the express declarations of scripture could stop it, they had prevented it from commencing its downward course; and averted Arianism would have saved it, from the precipitation

precipitation of Socinianism. Our own Arians, we see, are *falling endlong* into Socinians^u. Even that original and mildest tribe of them, who allow our Saviour to have been the visible Jehovah of the Old Testament, and elevate him into an actual God by investiture; have almost all sunk away from these principles, with which they began in Sir Isaac Newton, and have settled at present into a denial of his virtual, as well as of his absolute, Divinity. And even those who remain of them, carry a strong taint of Socinianism in their very essence; all of them except Bishop Clayton, I apprehend, *annihilating* the Holy Ghost, by reducing him into a mere *impersonality*. Arianism is thus that shallow temple of heresy, which only serves to form the portal to Socinianism^x.

Even

^u fell endlong into swine. POPE.

^x Genuine and original Arianism asserted the Holy Ghost, to be a creature as well as the Son; but a creature made by the Son, as the Son made the angels; and an Angel ministering to the Son. The Arians, says Epiphanius, “confess the angels to have been “made by the Son; and even dare to say blasphemously of the very “Spirit, that he was created by the Son:” *ομολογῶσι τὰς ἀγγέλους ὑπο τῷ Υἱῷ γεγονέναι, καὶ γὰρ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος βλασφημῶσιν, καὶ τολμῶσι λεγέιν κεκτισθαι ὑπο τῷ Υἱῷ.* “As even Arius determined concerning the Son,” says Photius, “so he determined also concerning “the Ever-holy Spirit; and reduced the lordly and supreme Sovereignty of God, into two servants and ministers:” *ὡς καὶ Ἀρειὸς κατὰ τὸν Υἱόν, ἔτι καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ παναγίαν παραταττομένου Πνεύματος, εἰς δούλους ὑπηρέτας τὴν δεσποτικὴν καὶ υπερκείμενην αὐτῷ συνταττεῖ κυριότητα.* And St. Basil calls the Arians, those “who rank “the

Even at Socinianism did Mr. Chillingworth stop in all probability, only because his life was suddenly terminated by accident. Had it been continued to its natural length, he would have gone probably to the very point at the bottom, to which Mr. Whiston shows us two of his own acquaintance actually going. We have already seen Mr. Chillingworth “by degrees grown confident of NOTHING, and a SCEPTICK at *least* in the GREATEST MYSTERIES OF FAITH.” All Arianism originates from Infidelity. The Jewish, as we have already seen, resulted from their Sadduceism. The same spirit, which makes a man question the language of his God, reject its obvious meaning, and wrest it into one, that common sense proclaims could never be intended, by such language from such a Being; in a single effort more tortures the language into Socinianism, and in another rejects the revelation that needed all this. Infidelity thus easily becomes, at once the womb and the grave of Arianism. “From *dust* thou art,” is written by the hand of God upon the brow of Arianism, “and unto *dust* thou shalt return.” There are only three stages of declension, from Christianity into Deism. Mr. Whiston showed himself very ready for the second, when, with all the anticipated

“the Spirit with the serving spirits that are sent out to minister;” οἱ μετα τῶν λειτουργικῶν πνευμάτων, τῶν πρὸς διακονίαν ἀποστέλλομένων, τὸ Πνεῦμα τιθέντες. See Pearson, p. 315—316 and 318.

K k

blasphemy

blasphemy of the most savage Socinian, he dared to charge the scriptures of God with weakness and with absurdity. Mr. Chillingworth had finished two of them, when he died; and was ready, I fear, for the third. CHUBB too, whose name was formerly of some notoriety in the lists of infidel fame, but is nearly lost and forgotten in the crouds upon the rolls at present; was *first* an Arian, *then* a Socinian, and *finally* a Deist^y. MORGAN also, another phantom of unbelief, that once stalked about formidable in its nothingness, was a Presbyterian minister, who *commenced* an Arian, and *concluded* an Infidel^z. And Dr. PRIESTLEY, as we may fairly conjecture from the past to the future, in the history of *his own* mind; and as we may reasonably infer, from these dreadful examples of *others*; having not stopped, as *his obvious original* Mr. Whiston stopped, but having gone, as Mr. Chillingworth went before, from orthodoxy down through Arianism into Socinianism; is even now rolling on with Morgan and with Chubb, and will at last be engulfed with them, in “that Serbonian bog” of Deism^a. The Doctor is *already* come—I tremble while I repeat it—is come *already* to intimate—What?—the very FALLIBILITY even of OUR BLESSED REDEEMER Himself.

^y Whiston's Memoirs, p. 276—278. ^z P. 318.

^a That Serbonian bog
Betwixt Damietta and Mount Casius old,
Where armies whole have sunk.

“ Some

“Some are now unreasonably apprehensive,” he cries in one of his later pamphlets, “that those who “*disbelieve* the miraculous conception, or *the plenary* “*inspiration* of CHRIST and the *apostles*, in cases “with respect to which the object of their mission “did not require inspiration; are in danger of re- “jecting Christianity^b.” Dr. Priestley thus takes away from our Saviour, as he had antecedently taken from his apostles, that plenitude of inspiration in preaching or writing about Christianity; which alone can preclude the intrusion of error, and ensure the presence of truth. He reduces HIM “in whom were hid all the treasures of wisdom “and knowledge,” to the same level of lowness in illumination, to which he had reduced his apostles and evangelists before. He consequently ranks “the Lord from heaven,” in that line of *inconclusive* *reasoners*; in which he had previously ranked the principal of his human agents. And the only excuse which can be made, for such a Deistical flight of impiety, is what I have pleaded in favour of Mr. Whiston; what is seemingly suggested to us here,

^b Importance and Extent of free Enquiry in Matters of religion, 1785, p. 35. In the Theological Repository, Vol. IV. are also some papers, I understand, which the late Mr. Badcock put into the hands of a friend of mine, and averred to be written by Dr. Priestley; and in which is a paradox still more impious, drawn out with all the solemnity of dullness, and dreadfully enlivened only with the *wish* to prove, that *our Blessed Saviour* was not only not *infallible*, but also not—IMPECCABLE.

by the Doctor's overleaping all the intermediate operations of his own mind, coming at a bound to the conclusion, and even speaking of this as known to be adopted and avowed before, when no adoption appears, and no avowal is noticed^c; and what, I would fain hope, will prove a valid excuse in that day, when the Insulted Saviour shall become an Avenging Judge, and an eternity of fortune shall be suspended on his tongue. At least the Doctor has, with a melancholy usefulness to the whole world of Christianity, shown us the regular progress of Arian infidelity *consummated* in his own history; and appears before us at this moment a striking and solemn evidence himself, that to deny the Divinity of our Saviour, does, by the necessary impulse of endeavouring to vindicate the denial, by the judicial curse of God upon the redoubled impiety, and by a precipitate gradation of absurdity from both, draw the mind at last; to deny the very inspiration of all our scriptural writers, to deny even the very inspiration of our grand and oral Teacher Himself, and consequently to charge BOTH, with FOLLY and with FALSHOOD in their instructions; so to shelter finally from refutation, in the blasphemies of Judaism, of Heathenism, and of Hell.

^c This very pamphlet stands a memorable monument, of the Doctor's wild indiscretion in betraying to the world, his own *gunpowder-plot* for blowing up the church and state; p. 40—41.

“ Keep

“ Keep us, oh ! keep us, thou Guardian God of
“ our religion, from this natural extremity of Arian-
“ ism. Keep all the children of thy Gospel from it.
“ But keep peculiarly us of the Church of England,
“ that glorious head of the Reformed Churches, that
“ grand antagonist of Popery, and that bright dis-
“ penser of the pure rays of thy Gospel.

“ Thou *wast* the Great Substitute of God the
“ Father, in the original creation of angels and of
“ men. Thou *art* the great Substitute of God the
“ Father still, in the government of this human
“ world. “ By thee were all things created,
“ that are in heaven and that are in earth ; visible
“ or invisible ; whether they be thrones, or domi-
“ nions, or principalities, or powers : all things
“ were created *by* thee, and *for* thee, and *by*
“ *thee all things consist* ^d.” And Thou hast been
“ in all ages the visible Representative of the invi-
“ sible Father, to the race of man. “ No man
“ hath seen God at any time ; Thou, the Only-
“ begotten Son, who art in the bosom of the Fa-
“ ther, Thou hast declared him ^e.”

“ For this reason, through all the generations
“ from Adam down to Abraham ; and from the
“ selection of the Jews in their glorious founder, to
“ thy human appearance among his descendants ;
“ didst Thou come forward to man, in the assumed
“ Majesty of God. Moses “ esteemed thy re-

^d 1 Cor. x. 4.

^e John, i. 18.

“ reproach,

“reproach, O Christ, greater riches than the
 “treasures in Egypt^f.” “Thou art the Angel,
 “which spake to Moses in the Mount Sinai^g.”
 “Thou art that Spiritual Rock which followed
 “the Israelites,” for “that Rock was Christ^h.”
 “When “some of them also tempted” God,
 “they did actually “tempt thee, O Christⁱ.”
 “Thus, “being in the form of God” himself,
 “didst Thou show them practically, Thou
 “thoughtest it no robbery to be equal with
 “God^k.” And, in all the nations of the earth,
 “thy “form, O Son of God,” has been the
 “very form of God; because Thou hast been
 “the Image of the invisible God” to them, and
 “the express Image of his Person,” as being the
 “very “Brightness of his Glory^l.”

“Yet, O Thou Divine Friend to man, when
 “Thou didst amazingly stoop from thy high dig-
 “nity, bow thy heavens, and come down upon
 “earth; what was thy reception here? “Thou
 “wast in the world, and the world was made by
 “thee, and the world knew thee not. Thou
 “didst come unto thy own [proper domains], and
 “thy own [proper domesticks] received thee
 “not^m.” The Jews, who were so peculiarly thy
 “own, who had been so long the favoured mem-

^f Heb. xi. 25.^g Acts, vii. 38.^h 1 Cor. x. 4.ⁱ Ibid. x. 9.^k Phil. ii. 6.^l Daniel, iii. 25,

Col. i. 15, and Heb. i. 2.

^m John, i. 10, 11.

“bers.

“ bers of thy household, and the honoured children
“ of thy care; revolted from thy paternal autho-
“ rity, spurned at thy paternal kindness, and be-
“ came as the Gentiles had become before. But,
“ what completed the enormity of their rebel-
“ lion against thee, and pushed them on to the last
“ line of human effrontery and human frenzy; they
“ denied that Divinity of thine, which they had been
“ perpetually adoring before; and they acknow-
“ ledged only that humanity, which they knew to
“ be merely the masking garment of thy Godhead,
“ and which they exalted only a little above com-
“ mon humanity, by attaching an angel to it for a
“ season. And they have undesignedly taken a still
“ ampler range of mischief; in not confining their
“ blasphemous folly to themselves, in communicat-
“ ing it very early to some of thy Christians, in com-
“ municating it to the Pagan Mahometans after-
“ wards, and so propagating a race among both, as
“ perverse and as rebellious as themselves.

“ But oh! keep *us* particularly, of the clerical
“ order; *us*, who are appointed to take the chair of
“ authority, in thy congregations of the Church of
“ England, and to deliver the words of thy revealed
“ wisdom, to our countrymen of Britain; in a firm
“ and steady superiority, to this alienated spirit of
“ Judaism. Whatever the deranged mind of the
“ Jews may dictate; whatever some of thy Chris-
“ tians, with a wild credulity, may have derived from
“ them;

“ them; let *us* “ ever hold fast the profession of
 “ our faith” in thee, our Lord and our God,
 “ without waveringⁿ.” Let *us* “ earnestly con-
 “ tend for this faith, which was once,” at the be-
 “ ginning of the world, “ delivered unto thy
 “ saints^o,” which has since been guarded, as the
 “ Vestal flame of thy religion, by thy saints of every
 “ age; which is therefore more cordially entertained
 “ and more devoutly preserved, in itself and in its
 “ two appendages, the Incarnation and the Satisfac-
 “ tion, by all the parts of thy church at present,
 “ than any other doctrine of thy Gospel; and which
 “ has been happily transmitted, in its full force of
 “ light and warmth, to ourselves.

“ Thus acting, O Lord our Saviour, we shall be
 “ fighting that good fight of faithⁿ,” which one
 “ of thy apostles, the favourite of them all, and the
 “ very apostle of Love himself, has been fighting
 “ before us. We shall be contending, like him,
 “ against the CERINTHUSES of the present day.
 “ Nor shall the poor and cold spirit of our meanly
 “ philosophical times, damp the ardours and check
 “ the exertions of our zeal; in this Christian, this
 “ Apostolick contest. No! With thee for our
 “ Patron, our Benefactor, and our God; and with
 “ thy majestically amiable St. John, for our exam-
 “ ple and pattern; we will rise above the puny effe-

ⁿ Heb. x. 23.

^o Jude, 3.

^p 1 Tim. vi. 12.

“ minacy

“ minacy of modern faith, and mount up into the
 “ bold and manly tone of primitive decisiveness,
 “ We will disdain alike the Pharisaick contumacy,
 “ and the Sadducean Arianism, of the Jews; their
 “ rejection of thee for their Messiah, and their
 “ denial of thee for their God. We will also disdain
 “ the borrowed Arianism, of the simple and Judai-
 “ cal Mahometan, and of some Judaical and Ma-
 “ hometan Christians among ourselves. And we
 “ shall thus unite with thy Church existing in all
 “ ages upon earth, and with thy Church hereafter
 “ to exist through all eternity in heaven; saying,
 “ UNTO THEE THAT DIDST LOVE US, AND WASH
 “ US FROM OUR SINS IN THY OWN BLOOD, AND
 “ HAST MADE US KINGS AND PRIESTS UNTO GOD
 “ AND THY FATHER, TO THEE BE GLORY AND
 “ DOMINION FOR EVER AND EVER. AMEN.”

‡ Rev. i. 5—6.

F I N I S.

L 1

E R R A T A.

- Page 56, note, line 3. *for οἰῆλον, read οἰᾶλον.*
 96, ——— 2. *for υἱν, read υἱον.*
 102, ——— 3. *for τροπον. επι, read τροπον, επι.*
 203, ——— last but one, *for ανθρωπεσον, read ανθρωπαιον,*
 253, ——— last but one, *for Δυλος, read Αυλος.*
 284, ——— 7. *for ταυσειν, read ελανυσειν.*
 291, ——— 4. *for αναποδελος, read ανυποδελος.*
 296, ——— 18. *for And though that, read That.*
 ——— 23. *for it; yet, read it. Yet.*
 305, ——— last but two, *for τον περ, read τον υπερ.*
 314, ——— 5. *for σθενυυσι, read σθενυυσι.*
 368, ——— 1. *for expect. And such, read expect. Such*
 381, line 7. *for imposture being, read imposture; being,*
 429, line 5. *for made, says, read made," says.*

Speedily will be published,

IN ONE VOLUME OCTAVO,

THE

PRIVATE LIFE

OF

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

By JOHN WHITAKER, B.D.

RECTOR OF RUAN LANYHORNE, CORNWALL.



Whitaker, John,

<<The>> Origin of Arianism disclosed

London 1791

H.eccl. 1219 m

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10028340-5